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NEW SERIES.
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THE MONTH.

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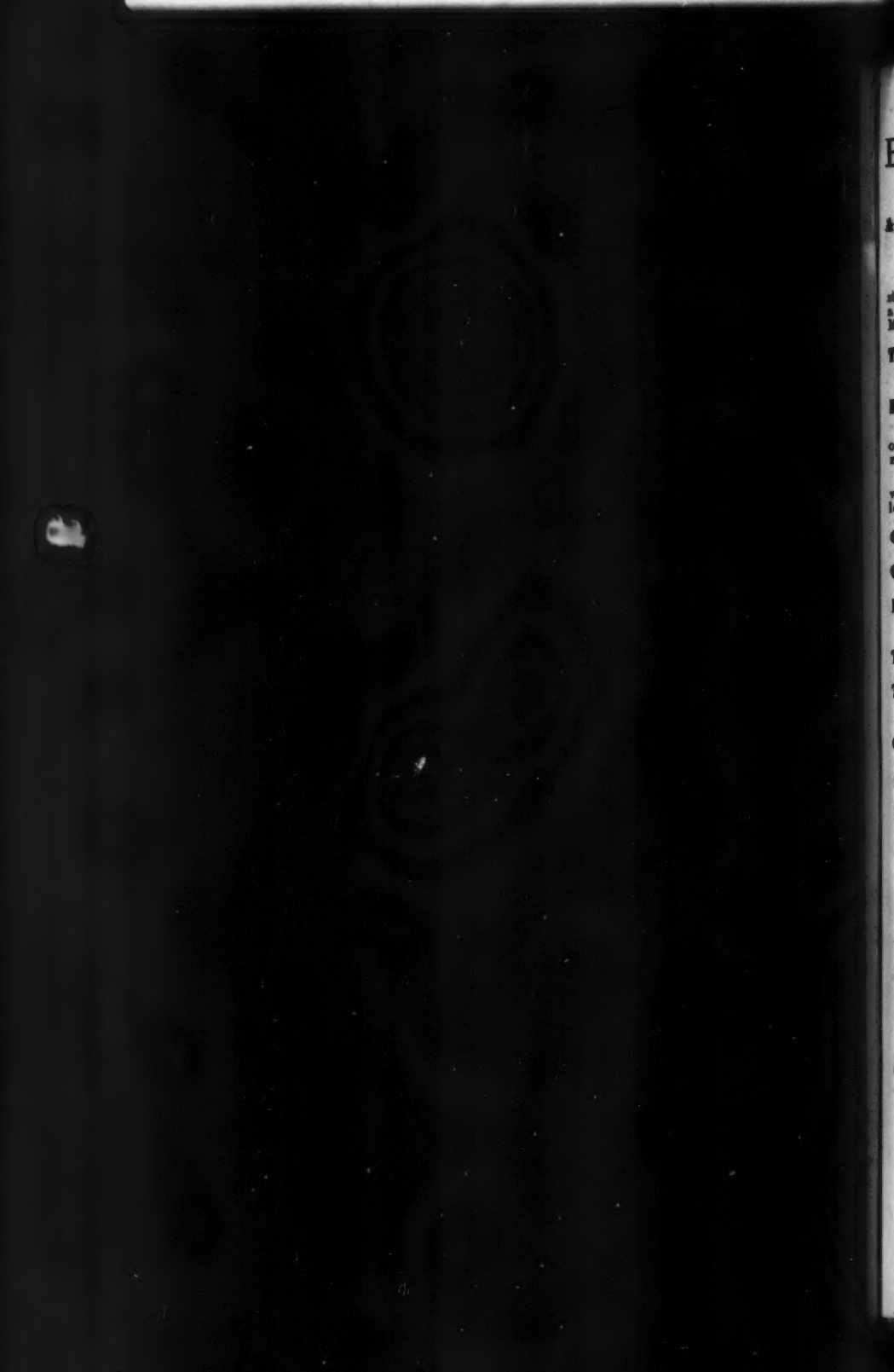
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The Massacre of Tientsin.

IN our last issue we endeavoured to draw public attention to the persecution against the native Christians which was lately raging, and which at any time may revive, in Japan. Such subjects can hardly be without a deep interest to any Christian mind, and in the case of the long persecuted Church of Japan, there are special features in the history which give it an additional hold on our hearts. These poor Christians were the descendants of converts made in Japan many generations ago, and for at least two centuries their country has been entirely cut off from intercourse with the civilized world, such isolation involving in their case a complete separation from the sources whence a continuous supply of teachers of religion and priests to administer the sacraments and preach the word of God might have been derived. But, as we conceive, there is a further and practical end to be gained by informing the Christian public of Europe, and especially Catholics, as to the state of religious affairs in the far East. The action of Christian Governments has now, and must for a long time have, a very great influence on the policy of such empires as those of China and Japan, on which the civilized world has been of late forcing itself in a peremptory manner which is, perhaps, not regarded as a special proof of civilization by the more passive parties in the intercourse. Under the circumstances of the case, it is hardly possible but that the manner in which Christian missionaries and Christian converts are treated by these Pagan Governments, must depend in large measure upon the attitude of the civilized Powers, and their attitude, again, must be materially modified and decided by the state of public

opinion at home. It is for this reason that it is useful to keep the public well informed as to the state of things, precarious and unsatisfactory as it must certainly appear.

In China, to which Empire our present remarks have immediate reference, European diplomacy appears to have just achieved an important success. The distinguished Austrian diplomatist to whom we referred in our last article, and of whose book we are about to make still greater use in our present remarks, explains to us the difficulty which has just been broken through, as to the admission of the envoys of the European States to the presence of the Emperor of China. At the time at which Baron Hübner wrote,¹ all embassies had hitherto been unable to approach the person of the Emperor, on account of the ceremonies insisted on at the Chinese Court on such occasions, which are too humiliating for the representatives of civilized sovereigns, whose fleets and armies, moreover, have often read a severe lesson to the forces of the "Son of Heaven." But the ceremonies in question are almost, if not quite, a matter of religion to the Chinese, who would be punished severely if they deigned to raise their eyes to the sacred person of their sovereign, and who have to shut their doors and windows if he passes through the streets on his way to visit some temple. The statesmen of China look on the admission of European envoys to an audience on those terms of equality, which are essential for the representatives of sovereigns dealing with a sovereign, as a national humiliation, and as a confession that the Emperor is no longer the sovereign of the whole world, a King who has no equals. And they consider that the public acknowledgment of this fact might involve the most serious consequences in its effect upon the people—so serious as even to lead to the dethronement of the present dynasty. This is the point, however, which has lately been carried at Peking, where the young Emperor has received to an audience the envoys of the several Powers with whom treaties already exist. It is said that this point has been mainly insisted on by France. There has not been as yet a sufficient lapse of time to enable us to judge of the effect

¹ Vol. ii., p. 356.

produced in China by this concession. There is great reason for believing that the concession was made in such a manner as to present to the popular mind the idea that the envoys of the European Powers were treated in much the same way as certain Eastern potentates who are tributaries, or subjects, of the Emperor of China. But the people can hardly be long in learning the true significance of the reception, and in that case we can hardly be wrong in considering that the effect is certain to be an aggravation of the hostile feeling with which foreigners are already regarded; and the Christians throughout the Empire are not likely to be more favourably regarded than before in consequence of what has taken place at Peking.

We shall presently have something to say on the attitude of the Chinese Government towards these Christians, but the narrative of the events which happened three years ago at Tientsin, though not altogether new to European readers, is both interesting in itself and may fitly be used as illustrating the question before us with regard to the condition of the converts. Moreover, although Baron Hübner, our latest authority on the subject, does not profess to have added very much to what was previously known, and confesses that the origin and aim of the outbreak are still wrapped in obscurity, it cannot be questioned that his account enables us to arrange the facts and put them in a clearer light. A glance at the map of China will show our readers Peking, the capital, almost in what may be called the north-eastern corner of that vast Empire, and if their eyes follow the course of the Peiho down to the sea of Pechellee, they will light upon Tientsin not far from the mouth of the river. We need not repeat the story of the war of 1860, in which the French and English Governments aimed at striking a decisive blow, not at the outposts, the provinces, or the ports of the Chinese Empire, but at the capital itself and the seat of residence of the Emperor. This policy was embodied in the significant fact of the destruction of the famous summer palace. After the treaty with which the war concluded, Tientsin became one of the ports at which Europeans are allowed to settle, while the legations of the Powers took up

their residence at Peking itself. With regard to this step, the prudence of which has been questioned, and which involves a certain amount of inevitable danger in the case of any sudden accident or catastrophe which might place either Peking or Tientsin in hands hostile to Europeans, it is necessary to remember that Peking is inaccessible from the sea for six months of the year, the Peiho being blocked up by ice in the winter, and that the same season prevents the settlers and merchants at Tientsin from having the protection of an English or French gunboat during the same period. Shanghai, at the mouth of the Yang-tse-Kiang, is no doubt, as Baron Hübner says, the natural place for the legations, but it is obvious that the French and English Governments have resolved on assuming the boldest attitude, and of postponing considerations of safety to the advantage of being able to enforce their requests by representations at the seat of empire itself.

The story of the massacre of Tientsin requires some preliminary description of the place itself. The English and French "concessions" are two miles from the city, on the banks of the Peiho, here a broad and rapid stream, which frequently, when swollen by inundations, spreads itself over the surrounding country and makes it necessary to pass from the city to the "concessions" in boats. At the "concessions" almost all the Europeans dwell, under the protection of the consuls of England, America, Russia, and the North German Confederacy. The city of Tientsin with its faubourgs is situated on the south bank of the Peiho, which is here joined by a river coming from the south, which connects it with the great canal of China. But there is a large faubourg on the north bank of the Peiho, and in this, fronting the river, the French had built a fine church called the Cathedral, close to which was their consulate and the establishment of the Lazarist Fathers, to which an orphanage was attached. Near the consulate of France was the *yamen* or official residence of a personage who plays a great part in the story, Chung-how, the "Commissioner of the Northern Ports," a man of high rank and birth, charged with the management of all that concerned foreigners and the relations of the Government

with them. Chung-how, however, had no jurisdiction, civil or military, over the Chinese themselves. A long way from the Lazarists and the French consulate, in the heart of one of the faubourgs on the south side of the river, and thus in the midst of the native population, was the small church and residence of the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, who had charge of a hospital and an orphanage for girls. They were ten in number, six French, two Belgians, one Italian, and one Irish. A few other European residents, engaged in trade, lived also in the town itself; altogether they hardly exceeded the number of the Sisters. As we have mentioned that Chung-how, the commissioner, had no regular jurisdiction in Tientsin, we must add that there were plenty of officials who had. There was the governor-general of the province, absent at the time, and the administrative head, the *toatai*; the prefect, *chih-fu*, of the township of Tientsin; and the mayor or city magistrate, the *chih-huen*. The latter is in China, it would seem, the most responsible person on the spot, and has the greatest influence with the population.

The population of Tientsin has been variously estimated, the estimates ranging from five hundred thousand to nine hundred thousand. At the time of which we are speaking, a few weeks before the massacre, there had been no sign of ill-feeling on their part towards the few Europeans, who, like the Sisters and the tradesmen already mentioned, lived in security in the very midst of the city. The Sisters, in particular, were generally respected and beloved. The Superior, the *Sœur Marie*, was often invited to assist the sick in Chinese houses, and to visit the poor. She was well known even in the villages round about. There were, however, some hostile elements in the population, notably the class which is so important in China, and which we may succeed in reproducing in England if we carry out the proposals which are made for giving every post of every kind by competitive examination, and develope to the utmost our system of State education. This class, in the despatches from China, goes by the name of the "literates," the men of letters, the graduates, and the like. It has always been distinguished by its intense hatred of foreigners, and its

members are probably as ready to shed European blood on every occasion that presents itself as a "literate" of the English press is ready on every occasion that presents itself to slander Catholics.² These "literates" or graduates were at the head of the most turbulent sets of men in Tientsin, known by the names of the *huo-hui* and *imin* respectively. The *huo-hui* are forty-eight corporations, confraternities, or guilds of firemen, who seem to occupy an important position in Chinese cities, forming a sort of Trades' union force, which can be manœuvred by its leaders for purposes very different from the promotion of trade or the extinction of fire. The *imin* are composed of former "volunteers" on the side of the Government in the war against the Taeping rebels. They are enrolled in a regular force, and are allowed to carry arms—the sort of men who formed the main strength of the Commune at Paris. These men were, as we have said, as well as the "fire brigades," at the command of the mandarin class. These constituted what may be called the normal elements of disorder in the population of Tientsin. At the time of which we speak, these elements had received an addition in the arrival of a man capable of giving them a direct aim and setting them in motion. This was a certain general, by name Chen-kwo-shuai. He had been a rebel leader, and had deserted his companions in rebellion. For this he was rewarded by being made the commander of an irregular force under the Government of which he was, as Baron Hübner says, "at once the terror and the disgrace. He was adored by the populace of the capital, and had made himself remarkable in the provinces by his acts of violence and by his hostility to Europeans. No official duty called him to Tientsin. He came on his own authority, followed by a band of from five to six hundred ruffians. His intentions soon disclosed themselves."

² In an article in the *Times* (August 27) on the French Pilgrimage, we find the following deliberate calumny against the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. "Its high officials are going out of their way to proclaim facts in which they do not believe, to get up demonstrations at which they must laugh, and to hold out promises which they know to be illusory." Here is a distinct assertion that the Bishops of the Catholic Church are deliberate liars.

It must be remembered that we are speaking of an intensely superstitious population, among whom, moreover, phenomena such as those which are connected in common opinion with sorcery and magic may often in reality occur to an extent which cannot be found in Christian countries. No one who reads carefully the accounts given us of such countries as China, India, Japan, and others under similar conditions as to religion and civilization, by travellers of authority, can well doubt that to deny the possibility of such occurrences among their inhabitants because we see nothing of the kind in Europe would hardly be less absurd than to deny the existence of the plague of leprosy because it has died out among us. We must take it for granted that to the mind even of an official among the Chinese, what we might call the rankest superstition would not be an impossibility. Much more would it be easy to influence the mind of the populace against strangers in blood and in creed by inventions, of which charges of sorcery formed the staple. Such, at all events, were the reports which first, about the middle of May, 1870, changed the apparent tranquillity and serenity of the European residents in Tientsin into alarm and apprehension. It was put about that children had disappeared. They must have been stolen by persons in the pay of the missionaries, and the Sisters must have killed them for wicked purposes.³ Such reports had been spread before, and had died away. They were founded on malice and superstition, and on the readiness with which the good Sisters received the orphans which were brought to them. We are sorry to find that no less a person than the representative of England at Peking was so little superior to his sectarian prejudices as to believe that the Sisters had been imprudent in this respect.⁴ This time the reports did not die away, and the

³ The purpose imputed was that charms and philtres might be made out of the eyes, hearts, and other parts of the bodies of the victims.

⁴ Mr. Wade takes care in his despatches to insist on the readiness of the Chinese to believe the charge of kidnapping children for unholy purposes, and he gives his own experience of high Chinese officials as his reason for his opinion. It appears to us that his intercourse with Chinese officials has had some effect in blunting his perceptions as to the Christian duty of rescuing, if possible, the thousands of infants who are simply murdered every year in China.

attitude of the population towards the Sisters, who still moved freely about on their errands of charity, was cold and suspicious. As it so often happens, an epidemic among the children in the orphanage came just at the moment to confirm the popular distrust. Many of the poor orphans had to be carried to the cemetery, which was on the other side of the river, adjoining the church of the Lazarist Fathers. For several successive mornings, a crowd collected in the cemetery, graves were opened, and the remains of Christian corpses were outraged. Père Chévrier, the Superior of the mission, caught a man in the act of violating a grave, and took him at once to the consulate. The consul, M. Fontanier, who paid for his

on account of the barbarous selfishness of the parents. He does not appear to have ever heard of the sins which cry to heaven for vengeance on a country. We find in the official papers (*China*, i., 1871) Mr. Lay, the acting consul at Tientsin, writing to Mr. Wade (June 20, the day before the massacre)—“The Sisters of Charity have been very stupid in buying children, and so on : and the old cry has been raised, that they do this for an unholy purpose.” Still, Mr. Lay attributed the outbreak to general hatred of foreigners. Mr. Wade writes to him (July 2)—“In the conclusion at which you arrive, namely, that the cause of the outbreak was hatred of foreigners in general, rather than the belief that children were being stolen for unholy purposes, and that the cry was raised against the Sisters of Mercy for want of some other or better cry, I do not concur.” [Mr. Wade was safe at Pekin, Mr. Lay on the spot, in danger, at Tientsin.] “I feel it my duty, on the contrary, to express my conviction that had there been nothing to suggest a suspicion that children were being kidnapped, there would have been no popular excitement, and that the excitement aroused by such a suspicion would not have taken the direction it did, had not the practice of receiving large numbers of children into the Sisters’ hospital supplied the Chinese, in their ignorance, with a *primâ facie* case against these unfortunate women.” Unfortunate, indeed ! They endeavour to rescue Chinese children from certain death, and in a great number of cases, no doubt, the poor children are too weak to be rescued, and die in the orphanage. Then the Chinese accuse them of sorcery for their act of charity, and the representative of a Christian Power blames them for having brought their fate on themselves. All the time Mr. Wade was wrong as to the facts—which he probably thought it beneath him to ascertain. The charge against the Sisters was, as Baron Hübner tells us, universally condemned by the European residents at Tientsin, and Mr. Wade is forced, after a time, to retract it to Lord Clarendon. “My impression that the original cause of the excitement was the belief that the children received by the hapless Sisters of Mercy” [they were Filles de la Charité, but Mr. Wade does not know the difference] “were taken into their orphanage for unholy uses remains unshaken ; but I am assured that it is incorrect to assert that any of these infants were, as I had thought, purchased by the Sisters” (*China*, i., 1871, p. 66).

temerity and negligence with his life, seems to have been a man of violent temper, and when Père Chévrier implored him to take at once the measures which would have put a stop to the agitation, he refused to listen, and ordered his unfortunate countryman out of the house.

It appears to be a fact, quite as well ascertained as the superstitious character of the Chinese, that it is seldom or never beyond the power of the local magistrates, even in a city like Tientsin, or of the central Government, to put a stop to popular disturbance by a proclamation. This fact, in the present history, is attested by the evident faith which the British consul, the French missionaries, and the French consul himself, evince in these letters as to the efficacy of such a measure when taken in earnest by the authorities. As a matter of fact, when, after all the mischief was done, and some English gunboats had arrived in the river, Chung put forward a proclamation to calm the people, tranquillity followed immediately. We shall see, moreover, presently, the bad effect upon the populace of a proclamation which was certainly not designed to allay irritation against foreigners. This power of the ruling officials must be taken into consideration in our estimate of what followed. Père Chévrier's unsuccessful attempt to move M. Fontanier to action by a strong representation to the authorities, which would, no doubt, if they had acted loyally, have had the result of preventing the outbreak, was followed by several days of growing agitation and danger. The calumnious rumours were acquiring force and consistency, the attitude of the people grew still more hostile. On the 14th of June, ten days after the first invasion of the Catholic cemetery, the Supérieure of the Sisters of Charity went with another Sister—Alice O'Sullivan, the only British subject in the community—to implore M. Fontanier to appeal to the Chinese authorities. The consul again refused. The time, he thought, had not come to make the application. Nevertheless, when, two days after, the feast of Corpus Christi (June 16) arrived, there were no women to be seen at mass, and the Christians who were able to attend were stricken with panic. Already Père Chévrier was warned of the

danger, and that there was a regular organization on foot to produce disturbances. The good Father, hopeless of any favourable result from his own application to M. Fontanier, went off to the "concessions" and implored the intervention of the Russian consul, M. Skatschkoff. He begged him to see M. Fontanier, and then, in conjunction with him, make an application to Chung. The Russian consul at once went to his French colleague, but M. Fontanier was "not at home." M. Skatschkoff left in writing a request for an interview, and the next day M. Fontanier went to return his call. But the moment that the Russian consul spoke of the state of affairs, he was told to mind his own business, and his visitor left.

The state of things was already highly critical, and it is probable that in any case the popular excitement would have vented itself in acts of violence unless it had been repressed by the influence of the authorities. But the time was now come for the contrivers of the plot against the priests and Sisters to make their game sure, and the events of the few next days sealed the fate of the doomed victims. As the chief accusation which was now to be brought against them was afterwards universally acknowledged to have been founded on deliberate fiction, it is not very difficult to trace the whole series of previous occurrences to the same origin. A girl was seen following the footsteps of a man in the streets. He was at once seized as a sorcerer, dragged before a magistrate, beaten, and then released, amid the murmurs of the people, as there was no proof whatever of his guilt. Soon after two strangers, Chinese, were seen leading two children by the hand. They were questioned as to their intentions, and at once took to flight. When arrested, they were found in the possession of some Mexican dollars—the coins used by Europeans—and some drugs. They were put to the torture, and then confessed that they had bewitched the children, and that the Sisters had given them the dollars as payment for their services. The magistrate (*chih-luen*) referred the matter to the "prefect" (*chih-fu*), and the men were condemned to death and executed. More than this, the "chih-fu" issued a proclamation stating what had

occurred, and almost in so many words exciting the people against the "kidnappers." Although the Sisters were not named, it is obvious that the proclamation was aimed at them.⁵ So it appears the people understood it, for a public demonstration was got up in honour of the Chih-fu, and he was presented, as is the way in China, with a handsome "official" umbrella, on which the names of the subscribers were written. This proclamation must be considered as the beginning of the final act of the drama which we are considering.

Soon after its promulgation, the mandarin in command of the military force went with the Chi-huen to Chung-how, who, as we have seen, was in charge of all affairs that related to the Europeans. The Chinese officials accused the Sisters of the crime laid to their charge by public rumour, and requested Chung to insist upon an examination of the Christian cemetery. He at first refused, but at last yielded to pressure. The cemetery was again invaded, and several bodies were disinterred. In the course of natural decay, the eyes of some of these corpses were gone, and this fact was insisted on as a proof of the criminality of the missionaries. At the same time a Christian of the literate or graduate class, who happened to come in from the country with one of his pupils, was seized and ill-treated. He was from a distant part of the Empire, and had a slightly foreign pronunciation. He was accused of sorcery, and cruelly beaten with red-hot bars of iron. There was not a tittle of evidence against him, and the magistrate handed him over, half killed, to the care of Père Chévrier, who had him carried on a litter to the hospital attached to the church.

Four days before the massacre, the day after Corpus Christi, a still more significant occurrence aggravated immensely the popular excitement and the danger of

⁵ In Chung's letter to the Yamen of Foreign Affairs, two days before the massacre, he states what appears to contradict Baron Hübner's assertion that the "kidnappers" who had been executed had implicated the Sisters. He says, "Although they confessed to having torn out eyes and hearts for the manufacture of drugs, yet their statements in no way implicated the Christians."

the Catholics. A young man named Wu-lan-chen was arrested in a village near Tientsin on a charge of sorcery. He made a confession of the crime imputed to him, declaring that he had been himself inveigled by a Christian attached to the Cathedral, had been made a convert by force, and had then been set to work with drugs and powders to stupefy men whom he named, whom he then took to the church to be made Christians. He said that he was one of eight who were employed in this manner, specified the sum that was paid in each case, and gave a number of details which need not be repeated. Wangsan, the Christian already named, he denounced as the head of these recruiters.

Wangsan was seized by the Chinese authorities, after they had in vain endeavoured to induce Chung-how to demand his surrender from the French consul. Wangsan was cruelly tortured. The taotai, the chief local authority, then went to M. Fontanier with a number of depositions implicating the missionaries, and demanded leave to make an investigation on the spot. But the consul showed them without any difficulty that the charges were absurd and malicious. Nevertheless, this visit of the inferior magistrate was followed by another from the Chi-huen, which issued in an angry scene, after which M. Fontanier refused to treat in the matter with any one but Chung-how. This personage came himself to see the consul, abused the Chi-huen, but complained of his own want of power to manage the local authorities. It was now June 20, the day before the massacre. Alarm reigned even at the foreign "concessions." An English doctor, Fraser by name, who used constantly to visit the hospital of the Sisters, was insulted as he returned home, and had to urge his horse to full speed. The Sisters, who a week before had laughed at the idea of danger, were now quite aware that their lives were in serious jeopardy. They sent to the "concessions" an English captain whom they were nursing in their hospital. There was still time on June 20th to save them if M. Fontanier had had any idea of danger. Mr. Lay, the acting British consul, wrote on this day to Mr. Wade at Peking in the most serious alarm. He had

already written for a gunboat. He expressed his astonishment at the inactivity of the French consul, and he had on that same morning written himself to Chung-how, to beg him to issue a proclamation exhorting the people to show courtesy and respect to the foreigners. It appears that his request was left unnoticed.

The 21st of June came. Père Chévrier had exhorted a friend who survived the massacres, to come and hear mass and prepare himself for death. At six o'clock the church was crowded with native Christians, many of whom went to confession as for the last time. The morning wore on. At nine o'clock, crowds were gathered around the church and consulate, and many windows were broken. An hour later, and the local magistrates, the taotai, the Chi-hu, and the Chi-huen arrived, bringing with them the informer Wu-lan-chen. Père Chévrier had himself requested that every investigation should be made. It is almost needless to say that their inspection issued in their declaring that they could find no ground for suspicion, and that when the informer was asked to recognize the persons and places which he had described, he was hopelessly confused and betrayed absolute ignorance. Chung-how sent for Père Chévrier, and asked him for the future to report the names and origin of the children received in the school and orphanage to the mandarins. The Père consented and returned home. But the tumult was increasing in violence. The members of the "fire brigades" were seen among the people exciting them to violence. Père Chévrier had all the doors of the school and residence thrown open, and invited the people to enter and search for themselves. At last, he sent his card to Chung, begging him to send troops to protect the mission, and retired himself into the church, the doors of which he barricaded. There, with one companion, a native priest, he prepared himself for death. Each heard the other's confession. They withdrew into the sacristy as soon as the doors were forced, and from thence, by a window, into a little building in the court of the consul. Then they were pursued and put to death.

It was asserted afterwards by persons who were on the spot, that the gongs which are used in Chinese cities to alarm the population in case of fire were sounded on this day, and that the leaders of the corporation of firemen had directed the crowd to the French church and consulate. It is certain that the floating bridge, which connects the two parts of the city on either side of the Peiho, might easily have been disconnected, so as to prevent the disturbance from spreading as it afterwards did, but no order for this was given till late in the day. Thus it was that after Père Chévrier's return from Chung-how, whose *yamen* was at no great distance, an organized mob was in possession of the scene of action, and the fate of the Europeans was certain unless the authorities could be prevailed upon to interfere at once with military force. Up to ten o'clock in the morning, M. Fontanier continued in his dream of security. A friend, M. Thomassin, who had just returned from Europe with his wife, had arrived on a visit the night before. They were on their way to Peking, where M. Thomassin held the post of interpreter to the French legation, and they had pressed on to the consulate, rather than remain at the "concessions," for the sake of being able to start that morning on their canal voyage to the capital. From his verandah, looking in upon the church and the space around it, M. Fontanier had quietly watched the earliest gathering of the crowd and the first acts of violence. Then he sat down to write a letter, which he intended to send to the French representative at Peking by his two friends. This letter, the writer and intended bearers of which were in a few hours to be outraged and mutilated corpses, is extant, and may be read in the English Blue Book on the subject of the massacre.⁶ Nothing can exceed the coolness with which M. Fontanier speaks of the whole affair, and the letter ends by a sentence declaring that all is nearly over. "*Ce petit incident, qui aurait pu prendre une mauvaise tournure sans l'intervention de Tchong-Heou, paraît aujourd'hui à peu près terminé; Tchong-Heou m'ayant en outre promis d'ici à quelques jours de publier une petite proclamation pour apaiser les esprits.*"

⁶ P. 20.

Une petite proclamation! M. Fontanier was very soon to find out what were the real dispositions towards him of the Chinese Commissioner on whom he placed so much reliance. We have already mentioned the message sent by Père Chévrier to Chung-how with his card. It appears that the sending of a card is considered in China to give a message unusual importance. The bearer of this card seems never to have been able to reach the *yamen* of the Commissioner. About the same time—he probably finished the letter first—M. Fontanier sent the official attached to his person, and his own *chancelier*, M. Simon, to Chung, with a message requesting him to send at once an armed force for the protection of the church and his consulate. Chung—he can hardly be acquitted of perfidy here—sent some civil mandarins instead. M. Fontanier became extremely angry, and ordered them to return. They were barely able to escape themselves, much less to disperse the crowd. Then the consul determined to go to Chung himself. He seems at the time almost to have lost his head, and eyewitnesses of what followed deposed afterwards that his manner was that of a drunken man. He armed himself with a revolver, and took M. Simon, armed with a sabre, with him. He went out by a back door, and walked to the *yamen* of Chung by bye-streets. He was seen soon after leaving his house in one of these streets, holding a mandarin by his pigtail, and brandishing his revolver. He was loading the unfortunate mandarin with reproaches for not protecting him. When he reached Chung's residence the door was shut. He kicked it open, and made his way into Chung's presence.

What followed can only be imagined, as Chung, the sole survivor of the two, has given a version of it which is obviously false. He describes M. Fontanier as using the most violent language, breaking the cups and other ornaments of the room, and firing off his pistol. He says that he himself explained to M. Fontanier the extreme danger of the situation, that the people were furious, that the brigades of firemen were now assisting in the disturbance, and that it would be better for him to remain for safety in the *yamen*. M. Fontanier, however, refused, and rushed

out, accompanied or followed by some mandarins of low rank, whose business it was to protect him. But already his servant, and a friend who had gone with him, had been attacked by some of Chung's suite in the court, and as soon as M. Fontanier put his foot outside the *yamen* he was wounded in the side by a lance. The Chi-huen was with him, but could or would do nothing to help him, and M. Fontanier in his rage fired at him, and would have killed him but that he hid himself behind one of his servants, who was mortally wounded by the discharge. The crowd, now all armed with pikes, threw themselves upon M. Fontanier and his *chancelier*, who, however, fought their way as far as the door of the consulate, where they were despatched, about the same time with the two Lazarist Fathers already mentioned.

In the absence of M. Fontanier, his guests of the night before, M. Thomassin and his wife, had taken refuge in the neighbouring house of some Swiss merchants. Unhappily they were not content to remain there, but, as their boat was waiting for them at a short distance they determined on endeavouring to reach it and set out for Peking. They were assailed with a volley of stones, and M. Thomassin fired on the crowd. He was at once cut down and his wife killed by a blow. Their bodies were stripped and thrown into the river. Then the crowd proceeded to demolish the consulate and set the church on fire. It was now about half-past one. Chung-how then at last gave the order to disconnect the bridge of boats across which the mob must pass in order to reach the northern bank of the river, on which lay the larger half of the city, in the midst of which was the church, convent, and orphanage of the Sister of St. Vincent de Paul. It is said that the appearance of the general Chen-kwo-shuai, who demanded a passage at the head of the band of rioters, prevented the execution of this order, but, as the gongs had sounded to collect the people on both sides of the river, and as the whole affair was thoroughly organized, it is hardly possible that at that late stage of the bloody work anything could have saved the Sisters.

These good religious had been almost in a state of siege for three days. A crowd surrounded their house, and it was impossible for them to communicate with the Lazarist Fathers or the consulate. They might, as Baron Hübner remarks, have retired under the cover of night to the "concessions," where they would have been themselves in comparative safety, but this would have been to abandon the orphans and the sick under their care. So they remained at their post—to die. It was half-past two when the crowd of murderers arrived at the convent, crying—"Death to the French! death to the foreigners!" They at once set the convent on fire and smashed in the doors. The Supérieure stood before them: she was run through by a lance and cut to pieces by swords. The rest of the community were hunted down wherever they took to flight—in garden, cellar, or dispensary—and, as it is hoped by those who have made inquiries on the spot, killed instantly. It is remarkable that but few fragments of their bodies were ever recovered; they seem to have been torn to pieces and carried off as charms. The children were seized and imprisoned—a fact which seems to convict the Chinese authorities of complicity in the crime. These poor girls were examined, in hopes that they might be intimidated into making some statement against the good Sisters who had been as mothers to them. All efforts were in vain. Another fact of the same import is recorded. Many native Christians were massacred, but one woman was thrown into the river and then rescued on condition that she would promise to depose that she had been bewitched by the Sisters. Several Protestant chapels were destroyed. Some French merchants and ladies, and two or three Russians, were also killed. The day's proceedings ended as formally as they had begun. The *tam-tam* sounded a retreat, the brigade of firemen formed themselves in marching order and returned home, and the angry multitudes dispersed. A heavy rain fell during the afternoon; perhaps it prevented an attack on the European "concessions."

We should very far exceed the limits of an article if we were to attempt any narrative of what followed upon the outrages which have just been set before the reader.

Abundant materials for such an account exist in the Parliamentary Blue Book to which we have already referred, and Baron Hübner, whom we have in the main followed, gives a short summary. It is enough to say, that although here and there in the Chinese Empire some minor outrages against Christians took place, the Government was able easily to put them down, and to secure the safety of the European residents in Tientsin and other places of apparent danger. It is, as we have already said, always in the power of the Chinese Government—at least, under ordinary circumstances—to calm popular violence by a proclamation which shows that the rulers are really in earnest in their intention to prevent or to punish disturbances. It is not the less true that an impression has always existed among the majority of the European residents in the ports of China, that the occurrence at Tientsin was meant to be the first of a series of such massacres, of which the foreigners generally were to have been the victims. It has also been widely believed that the plan of those who arranged the plot included the removal of Prince Kung and his colleagues from supreme power, if not the deposition of the reigning dynasty, as too favourable to the strangers. Whatever may be thought of these surmises, it is certain that the remonstrances of the European Ministers, as well as the general attitude assumed by the foreigners in consequence of the Tientsin massacres, forced on the Government exertions which were successful in preventing the further progress of the intended plot. It is easy, however, to see, that the Chinese Government proceeded with much reluctance and caution in the measures which it was forced to take in punishment of the outrage. These measures were by no means all that was demanded of the Government by the representatives of the aggrieved Powers. It was four months before any punishment was inflicted on the two local officials who were most to blame, the Chih-fu and the Chih-huen. They were sent to the frontiers to serve as common soldiers, and, after a time, further condemned to hard labour. Their lives were spared, though demanded by the representative of France.

Cheng-kwo-shuai, the general who was more than suspected of having instigated and encouraged the rioters, was formally tried and acquitted. Twenty poor wretches, who confessed to having taken part in the massacre, were executed, and several others exiled for a term of years, an indemnity of two hundred and fifty thousand taels was paid, and a proclamation was sent over the Empire recounting what had passed and threatening punishment in cases of any similar misdeeds.

The most important diplomatic result of the affair of Tientsin was a circular presented by the Chinese Government to the several foreign Powers with which it has treaties existing, on the whole subject of the Christian missionaries dispersed over the Empire. When we say Christian missionaries, we mean, almost exclusively, Catholic. The Protestant missionaries in China are numerous, but as a rule they do not venture into the country itself. They remain in the "treaty" ports, where they are accused by the natives of devoting themselves mainly to the pursuit of riches by means of trade. This may not be the case universally; but it is curious that among the claims made on the indemnity paid by the Chinese after the outrage of Tientsin, there should be found one for the loss incurred by the missionaries on account of the interruption of their sale of the Bible. On the other hand, the Catholic missionaries, of whom there are about five hundred in China, are said by Mr. Medhurst to plunge at once into the interior of the country, in order to take charge of some of the numerous Christian missions which there exist, many of which date from the first period of missionary labour there, the period which passed before the suppression of the Society of Jesus and the subsequent Revolution in France and Europe. It is there that these missionaries, for the most part, labour, there that they build their churches, found orphanages and schools, and exercise over their flock, from the necessary circumstances of the case, a sort of authority as well as a sort of protection which may very likely be frequently displeasing to the Chinese officials themselves. This is said by hostile critics to have been especially the

case since the last war and the treaties between China on the one hand and France and England on the other. A clause in the French treaty sanctioned claims that might be made by missionaries for property which had been taken away from them in times of persecution, and when action has been taken under this clause it has been considered as a mark of arrogance and domineering aggression on the part of the missionaries. Altogether, the Chinese "case," so to speak, against them comes to this—that they form a sort of independent body in the State itself, that they so far render government difficult, that they encourage insubordination and disloyalty by protecting the members of their flocks before the tribunals of the local mandarin, and the like.

Here again we must repeat a remark which we made a few weeks ago. The arguments against the Church are much the same in the far East and in Europe itself, and the complaints made against her ministers are little varied in the mouths of Chinese mandarins and in those of the agents of the so called Christian Empires of Russia or of Germany. Everywhere we find the same monotonous strain, which echoes so faithfully the attempts of the Chief Priests and Pharisees to make Pilate believe that our Lord was a danger to the State, and that the crimes laid to his charge were crimes of a political character. The complaints and proposals of the Chinese Government are summarized by Baron Hübner,⁷ and may be read at full length in one of the papers presented to the English Parliament.⁸ They are very much of a repetition of a proposal addressed some years before to Sir Rutherford Alcock by the same Government, and show very clearly what it is that the enemies of Christian civilization in China really find to object to in the proceedings of the missionaries. We have already hinted at some of the main charges. We may sum them up in a few lines taken from the despatch of a Protestant representative, Mr. Low, the American Minister at Peking—

Had they stated their complaints in brief, without circumlocution, and stripped of all useless verbage, they would have charged that the

⁷ T. ii., § 30, seq.

⁸ *China*, i., 1872.

Roman Catholic missionaries, when residing away from the open ports, claim to occupy a semi-official position, which places them on an equality with the provincial officer; that they deny the authority of the Chinese officials over native Christians, which practically removes this class from the jurisdiction of its own rulers; that their action in this regard shields the native Christians from the penalties of the law, and thus holds out inducements for the lawless to join the Catholic Church, which is largely taken advantage of; that orphan asylums are filled with children by the use of improper means, against the will of the people, and when parents, guardians, and friends visit these institutions for the purpose of reclaiming children, their requests for examination and restitution are denied; and lastly, that the French Government, while it does not claim for its missionaries any right of this nature by virtue of treaty, its agents and representatives wink at these unlawful acts, and secretly uphold the missionaries. If the opinion of the Chinese officials could be stated in a direct and courageous way, instead of proposing rules for the governance of missionaries, they would demand a revision of the treaties by which the right of extraterritoriality would be withdrawn from missionaries when they go beyond the places open to trade where foreign consuls reside.⁹

This extract puts the Chinese case in the most favourable light. But the Chinese proposals and complaints go beyond what Mr. Low said for them, as will be seen from the following short summary (from a despatch of Mr. Wade to Lord Granville¹⁰) of the demands made in the memorandum which accompanied the circular.

This is the sum of the note. Appended to it is a Memorandum containing eight Articles, in which are set forth various griefs, each Article being supplemented by a note purporting to supply evidence in support of the charge preferred.

Article 1 recommends the entire suppression of the foreign Orphanats; if this be impossible, the exclusion of all but Christian children, in any case registration of the children, and free admission of their friends. The present secrecy of proceedings in the asylums provokes suspicion. The common people still believe in the removal of the children's hearts and eyes. These Orphanats besides are really not wanted, for similar asylums abound in China.

Article 2 protests against the appearance of women in the same chapels as the men, and against the employment of female missionaries.

Article 3 assails the missionaries' independence of the laws, their assumption of power and position, the oppression of the people not Christian, their abuse of Confucianism, by which they exasperate the people.

It complains equally of the assumption of independence by the Christian congregations, their refusal to render certain service as

⁹ P. 24. There are certain slips in the use of the Queen's English in this extract, but, perhaps, the President's English does not recognize the laws of the three concords.

¹⁰ P. 3.

subjects of the Empire, to pay revenue to Government, to pay rents to individuals. In all such refusals they are supported by their missionaries, who interfere in suits before the Courts. Betrothals are also repudiated by Christians, and their alienation of property produces family feuds.

Articles 4 complains of the demands made for indemnity over and above the punishment of offenders, while Christians offending are withheld from justice by missionaries. Missionaries so offending should be required to undergo the same punishment as the offender, otherwise to leave the country.

Article 5 would regulate the use of their passports by the missionaries, prevent their transfer, and limit the area of the holder's movements, the penalty of disobedience being deportation.

Article 6 condemns the reception as converts of men whose characters cannot be guaranteed. Bad Christians should be expelled, and a return of all Christians should be periodically made.

In the note to this Article some instances are given of the admission of rebel leaders and other disreputable people into the Church, and of their subsequent lawless conduct, in one case quoted, apparently under missionary protection.

Article 7 denounces the arrogation by missionaries of official attributions in intercourse and correspondence. They should accept, it urges, the status of Chinese literati in both. Cases are cited in the note of their assuming the use of seals, or titles, or forms of correspondence to which they had no right.

Article 8 and last deals with the restitution of property formerly belonging to Christians (and now claimed by the Church under Article VI. of the Convention of 1860). Buildings are demanded back without reference to popular sympathies or prejudices; some that have passed through many hands since the Christians, the original proprietors, sold them; some that their purchasers have greatly improved them. The missionaries will pay nothing, but, on the other hand, when a house they claim is in ruins, they seek to exact money for the repair of it.

Mr. Wade—though by no means friendly to the Catholic missionaries, and though declaring that he, as representative of England, had nothing to say to most of the allegations, as they did not apply to Protestant missionaries—did, in reality, in his answers to the Chinese Foreign Office, show that in most cases there was little or no ground for these proposals. We shall give his words as to the several articles. About the orphanages he says—

Article 1 relates to the infant asylums. Protestant missionaries have not, to my knowledge, established any such asylums, but I am assured that, in those of the Roman Catholics, no objection is ever made to the visits of the parents or friends of an infant. Many of these, at the same time, have neither friend nor parent. They are children who have been abandoned by all. It would be difficult to find any one who would become security for the unfortunate outcasts who have been left by the wayside to die.

As to the attendance of women at chapel, and the question of "female missionaries," he says that no Government will consent to the exclusion of its females from China, and that women are as much bound to do good to others as men.

As to the question of decorum, your Excellency is evidently not aware, in the first place, that during service, Christian chapels, Protestant and Romish alike, are open to all, non-Christians as well as Christians, who will conduct themselves so as not to interrupt the service; that there are no doings in either that any outsider is not free to observe; and that in the Romish places of worship in China the sexes, out of deference to Chinese feeling on the subject, are generally if not always separated. I have seen this with my own eyes at Shanghai, and I believe that it is the rule in their chapels elsewhere.

On the charge as to the assumptions of the missionaries—

I am assured by the Representative of France that although he considers it most desirable that the Romish Bishops and their missionaries should have such access to the chief authorities of jurisdictions as will enable them to represent any wrong done to their congregations in the matter of religious freedom, the French Legation does not recognize the claim of the same ecclesiastics to interfere between the Chinese Christian and his official in any question in which the free exercise of his religion is not affected.

If, as it is alleged, foreign missionaries are in the habit of interposing in suits, civil or criminal, or of forcing themselves, either in person or correspondence, upon the authorities in a manner disrespectful or offensive, the remedy, it appears to me, is in the hands of the latter. The authority outraged has but to complain to the nearest Consul, or through the *yamen*, to the Legation of the country to which the missionary belongs.

In the matter of subscriptions for public purposes, it seems to me that there may be some confusion between the classes of contributions. His conversion to Christianity does not, in the opinion of foreign Governments, in any way affect the Chinese proselyte's subordination to the officers of his Government, or to the laws of the land. It will certainly not be held to exempt him from taxation. But from certain contributions which his fellow-countrymen impose upon themselves he cannot but be exempted, and the Chinese Government is bound to secure his exemption, because, by treaties with foreign Powers, it has engaged to secure to any person practising or preaching Christianity within its dominions the free exercise of his religion. The Chinese have faith in much that the Christian does not believe in, and when they compel a Christian to take part in ceremonies condemned by his religion, or to subscribe funds in aid of the celebration of such ceremonies, they are interfering with the free exercise of his religion, and against such interference he is entitled to the protection of the Chinese Government.

The fourth article Mr. Wade answers by some remarks on the difference between European and Chinese codes and

proceedings at law, adding, "I am at a loss to understand how any missionary can prevent the arrest of a Chinese charged with an offence against the law. Should a missionary attempt such interference, the proper course, as I have before observed, would be an immediate appeal to the Consul or Minister of his nationality." He passes over as hardly worthy of remark the article relating to the passports. His answer to Article 6 is in these words—

In Article 6 it is proposed that no Chinese of bad character should be allowed to embrace Christianity; and instances are given of persons in the far-west provinces, who, after entering the profession, continued to commit the gravest offences. If this be the fact, why were the offenders not seized, and tried by the district authorities? It is vain to lay the blame of their inaction upon the few missionaries in their jurisdictions. They have not hesitated on occasion to lay violent hands upon the missionaries themselves. In Kweichow, only the year before last, three Romish missionaries were seized by the authorities, and one of them died of the ill treatment he received. I do not understand how the power of the mandarins can be less over their own countrymen.

As to the exclusion of all but good men from the profession, the Christian religion, as every treaty sets forth, is for the teaching of men to become virtuous. Is it not then the duty of its teachers, like the philosopher Mencius, to turn away none who desire to be converted, "not to scan the past, neither to reject those who tender themselves?"

If Chinese break the law once more, their profession as Christians will not screen them from the penalty of the law; and so with reference to registration, if the Chinese Government chooses to oblige all its subjects professing Christianity to register themselves in any special fashion, it has, no doubt, the power to do this. But I do not see that it can expect the foreign missionary to become its registering officer.

Mr. Wade says but little as to the seventh article. Perhaps he does not understand that bishops and vicars apostolic must occasionally use seals and give an official air to their acts of jurisdiction, which are, nevertheless, entirely in the spiritual order. The last article he waives, as concerning only the Government of France. We may add, that although the representative of England took the pains to answer the Chinese demands in a manner which, on the whole, was favourable to the missionaries, he nevertheless appears, in his correspondence with Lord Granville, to incline to a practical abandonment of the one great privilege which the missionaries have hitherto enjoyed. That one great privilege is contained in what, in diplomatic language, is represented by the somewhat barbarous word

extritoriality. The missionaries, like other foreigners, are considered as *cives Romani*—to refer to Lord Palmerston's famous declaration—in the sense that they are responsible to their own Governments, and not at the mercy of the Chinese tribunals and officials. This is the sum and substance of the Chinese complaints. The Chinese have made this concession in their treaties, and they would gladly be rid of it. We fear we must understand Mr. Wade as desiring that this privilege should be withdrawn. He says to his chief in England—

The papers, especially the supplement, are very badly put together. They contain some statements which will be easily contradicted, and some imputations which cannot be sustained; but, taken with the matter of many a long conversation on the same subject, to which I have listened in the last eight years, they strengthen my conviction that, to secure the missionary against the hostility of the lettered class, one of two courses must be pursued,—either the missionary must be supported, out and out, by the sword of the protecting Powers, or he must be placed by the protecting Powers under restrictions which, whilst leaving him always as much latitude of action as, if simply intent on Christianizing China, he is justified in desiring, will yet enable the Chinese Government to declare to those whose conservatism chafes at the present pretensions of the missionary that he, the missionary, is not authorized by the Power protecting him to put forward the pretensions objected to.

Hear, on the other hand, Mr. Low, whose opinions are somewhat adverse to the missionaries.

I do not believe, and therefore I cannot affirm, that all the complaints made against Catholic missionaries are founded in truth, reason, or justice; at the same time, I believe that there is foundation for some of their charges. My opinions, as expressed in former despatches touching this matter, are confirmed by further investigation. But while I see clearly the difficulties and dangers, candour compels me to say that the remedy seems to lie outside and beyond the scope of affirmative diplomatic action. Neither will sound policy, nor the moral and religious sentiments of Christian nations, sanction any retrogression, although trade and commerce might be promoted thereby; nor will the dictates of humanity permit the renunciation of the right for all foreigners that they shall be governed and punished by their own laws. But, while insisting firmly upon these rights, all foreign Governments should see to it that no claim be made by their officers, agents, or subjects, for the extension of their laws over the Chinese.

We may add that it is understood that the other powers in treaty with China have answered the circular in the sense of a refusal to abandon the right in question, and that the French answer—which has not been published—

was particularly energetic and plainspoken. France has no very great commercial interests at stake in China, and is therefore free from the temptation to desire peace at any price. Hitherto we believe that, in China at least, she has in the main nobly fulfilled her mission as the protector of Christian interests. It was lately proposed to put the missionaries under the joint protection—and *surveillance*—of all the Powers, but this plan was resisted by the missionaries themselves, who all prefer France.

It is impossible to reflect on the light thrown upon the position of Catholicism, and particularly of Catholic missionaries and religious women, in China, without grave anxiety on the one hand, and much sanguine hope on the other. It is surely a matter for anxiety that, as is clear from the events at Tientsin, there is always a strong hostility to the missionaries lurking in the breasts of so very powerful a class as the mandarins, and that the people are superstitious enough to believe fables against priests or nuns as absurd as any that were current against the Christians of the Roman Empire, and bloodthirsty enough to be ready, as soon as they see their rulers either negligent in securing order or willing to encourage outrage, to burst forth into acts of organized violence such as those of which we have been speaking. The missionaries, and in many cases religious women also, scatter themselves with a venturesome confidence over the whole Empire, and it is only to be expected that opportunities will again and again occur which will produce tragedies as deplorable as that of Tientsin. There is another power at work behind the mandarins and the people, and we see the activity of this power in the cunning proposals suggested as to the extinction of Christian orphanages and the banishment of the Filles de la Charité. What is secured by the orphanages and asylums for foundlings in China, is the eternal felicity of thousands of souls who would otherwise pass out of this world under the ban of original sin. The salvation of children by baptism is, in a certain sense, the purest and simplest result of the victory of our Lord over death and hell. They are saved without having reached the use of reason and the capacity of actual sin.

They are blessed for ever because of the merits of Jesus Christ, and for no exertions whatever of their own. At nothing do the enemies of the human race writhe with greater spite than at this. The closing of the Christian orphanages and asylums means simply the shutting off of this continual stream of happy infant souls flowing upwards from the kingdom of Satan to the gates of the heavenly Jerusalem.

As for the orphanages [says Baron Hübner] every one knows how things go on. The priests and Sisters have never bought children. As soon as an asylum is opened, children flow in from all sides. They are brought either by their parents, or by travellers, Christian or heathen, to whom their parents have consigned them for the purpose. Male children are never exposed, except when misery, or the absolute impossibility of feeding them, constrain their fathers to do this. But girls are considered a burthen, and are thrown out on the roads, or into the rivers, or are even buried alive. Even people in good circumstances get rid of them in this way. But, when it is known that there is an orphanage in the neighbourhood, the voice of nature makes itself heard, and the parents take their children to the missionaries. The mortality among the young boys is very great, because the parents only give them up when at the last extremity. Thus the children have suffered from hunger. When admitted into the orphanages, they gain flesh, and present the appearance of good health. But at the end of some months, they suddenly fall ill, and most of them waste away and die. The mortality among the young girls is also considerable, but less than that among the boys, because the girls are exposed, or brought to the asylums of the Sisters immediately, or a few days after their birth. They have not had time to contract the diseases which spring from hunger. It is too true that many of these children die. Still, many also regain strength and health. All these abandoned children would have perished miserably but for the intervention of the missionaries and the Sisters.¹¹

This is the work which is charged with imprudence by many European residents in China—who perhaps do not believe in baptismal regeneration. In the same way, the presence of the Sisters in the Chinese towns and villages must infallibly work with great power towards that first essential foundation of Christian civilization, the elevation and emancipation of woman. No doubt there are many good native Christian women. There are even many Chinese women who have devoted themselves to the religious life, and thus furnished their married sisters with that high encouragement to the practice of lofty domestic virtue which can only be found in the existence

¹¹ *ii.*, pp. 542, 543.

of the virginal and married life side by side. But at present—and it may continue to be so for many generations—Chinese Sisters, or nuns, need the guidance and rule of European women of their own class, and this, besides the numberless works of charity which are promoted by them, is one of the strongest reasons for considering the presence of the European religious women as essential to the welfare of the rising Church of China. And it is no wonder that the powers of evil should leave no stone unturned to deprive that Church of such auxiliaries.

We cannot therefore hope that the future of Christianity in China should be without clouds. The state of society is too rotten, the Government and dynasty too insecure, to make it reasonable to expect that peace and tranquillity will be the lot of the Empire, even if it escapes further aggression—which is sure to be visited, in the first instance, on the Christian missionaries—from the so called civilized Powers which have forced themselves upon its nominal friendship. Many other elements of alarm might be named; but it is more pleasant to turn for a moment to the brighter side of the prospect. In the Christian sense, indeed, even persecution, oppression, and outrage tend to strengthen the Church, and China has already a large number of martyrs to intercede for her in union with the hundreds of thousands of Christians whom she has sent to heaven, so many of whom must be the children saved from premature death in the orphanages, of which we have heard so much. Then, to speak of the human elements of hope, there can certainly be no general proscription of Christianity as long as peace is maintained with Europe, and every year of quiet that is allowed for the working of the Church gives her time to strike her roots deep and tighten her grasp of the soil. The Christian missions in the various provinces of China are now too numerous and too well consolidated to be easily overthrown. Above all, the cause of the missions is more and more making itself known and heard in Europe, and we may fairly hope that a strong public opinion is being created which may have power enough to make Christian

Governments act in sincerity and with vigour in case of any attempt to oppress Christianity. Christian nations have contracted the most serious obligations on this subject. For purposes of trade, to further the interests of the money-making classes, even though their money is made by an infamous and deleterious traffic, they have not scrupled to break down by force the barrier of seclusion behind which China was willing to hide herself. It may fairly be doubted whether the intercourse which has followed has been morally or socially beneficent to the Chinese. But, at all events, we cannot, without incurring the gravest guilt, be remiss in doing our duty to China in regard to religion, if it be only to make her some slight compensation for many injuries. We are not bound to propagate Christianity by force, but we are bound to use our power to protect the peaceful propagation of Christianity. We have a right and a duty to secure Christian missionaries and their converts from persecution on the score of religion. The rest will be the work of God. But if the interests of trade are allowed to override the interests of Christianity, and if we wash our hands, as caring for none of these things, of all questions that relate to the religion which alone is the foundation of our own prosperity and power, we may have to give a speedy account for our neglect of the highest object for which that power has been placed in our hands, and to add another name to the long list of nations whose selfishness and unfaithfulness have reduced them to insignificance and obscurity.

A Poet's Dreams.

THE poet passed through the busy ways
Where wealth and power dwell,
And his dreamy eyes' far-absent gaze,
On many a sorrow fell.
Around his path, unseen, unheard,
By the onward straining crowd,
Wept loveliness that grief had scarred,
And youth that pain had bowed.

But his wandering soul was far away,
In the happy land of dreams,
Where the silver-crested wavelets play,
In the sunlight's golden gleams ;
And vine-clad knolls and sunny slopes
In long perspective rise,
To where the purple mountain tops
Are merged in the summer skies.

The poet stood in the bright saloons
Where mirth and pleasure shine,
The walls were wreathed with gay festoons,
And the cups o'erflowed with wine ;
Yet he stood alone 'mid the surging throng—
A moon in a troubled sky—
While the swell of many a wanton song
Unheeded passed him by.

For his wandering soul was far away
In the sunny land of dreams ;
And he heard but the wildwood's floating lay
And the murmur of gliding streams.
From morn till night the bright-eyed birds
Held joyous concert there,
And ever the ocean's solemn chords
Rolled far in the quivering air.

The poet sate in the stately halls
Where rank and fashion reign,
And the pomp that girdled their glittering walls
Awoke but his deep disdain.
His heart would chafe at the close-drawn net
That barred every upward stride,
Affection stifled by etiquette,
And tenderness lost in pride.

And his thoughts would wander far away
To his own bright land of dreams,
Where the soul unloosed from its cumbering clay,
Could revel in love's pure beams ;
Where, soaring high o'er the troublous sleep,
That sat on the world below,
He basked, enchanted, in joys too deep
For narrower hearts to know.

But the poet loved, and he loved in vain—
His hopes were of fancies wove—
For, alas, he had nought but his wayward strain,
And his hidden store of love.
And so like the splendour of sunset skies,
His life-joy ebbed away,
And the tender light in his deep, sad eyes,
Grew fainter day by day.

Ah, wearily, wearily, waned the years,
Till the end of all drew nigh,
But a loving God dispelled his tears,
While the shadow of death stood by.
For he saw far away in the golden even,
The fields of glory stand,
And he died of joy, for the dawning heaven
Was his own dear wonderland.

E. H.

The Cradles of two Heroes.

FAR away in the heart of the Spanish hills, in the midst of that fair land now convulsed by war and bloodshed, lies the cradle of the warrior saint, father and founder of the great Society of Jesus. Throughout the wanderings of his long and wearied career, Ignatius can scarcely have beheld a brighter spot than that of his birthplace; the narrow and fertile valley, watered by the Urola and encircled by richly wooded hills, beyond which extend far and wide the blue mountains of Guipuzcoa and in the midst of this fair scene the feudal manor of Loyola, with its turrets, its battlements, and its air of proud solemn grandeur, standing midway between the towns of Aspeitia and Ascoytia. It would be hard to find a more lovely drive than that which leads from St. Sebastian to Aspeitia. At first the road lies near the coast and the eye rests with delight upon wooded hills, richly cultivated fields and picturesque villages, with now and then a glimpse of the beautiful blue sea. At Zarauz, a small sea-side town, much frequented in summer by the rich inhabitants of Madrid, the road diverges inland, the country becomes wilder, though still fertile and cultivated, and the hills gradually close in round the traveller, who at length reaches the little town of Aspeitia, nestling among the mountains of Guipuzcoa and beyond which opens the valley of Loyola.

It would seem to the pilgrim who first beholds Aspeitia that the aspect of the quaint little town can scarcely have changed since the days when the lords of Loyola used to come and hear mass in its parish church, so antiquated are its houses with their balconies and overhanging roofs,

its narrow streets with their aspect, so thoroughly Spanish, of half decay and intense picturesqueness. It was in the parish church of Aspeitia that Ignatius was brought to be baptized, and the stone font where the ceremony was performed is carefully preserved. It is parted off from the church by an iron grating, and is now surmounted by a small statue of the saint, who is represented pointing to the font, and below is the following inscription in Basque—*Emenchen batiatuva naiz*—meaning, "Here I was baptized." We may easily picture to ourselves the scene which took place on that very spot three hundred and eighty-two years ago; the stately looking Spanish nobleman, Don Beltran Tanez de Oñaz y Loyola standing by while the saving waters were being poured on the baby brow of his youngest child. By his side no doubt were his five other sons, and especially that Martin Garcia, who was to succeed his father as head of the house of Loyola, and to whose ancestral pride the now unconscious child was one day to deal so bitter a blow, when, despite his elder brother's remonstrances and prayers, he set forth to embrace a life of penance and humiliation. Little did either father or brothers think that if one day the feet of numberless pilgrims were to tread the pavement of that quaint old church, if loving lips and reverent hands were to touch that old stone font, and eager eyes gaze on the time-worn walls of the manor of Loyola, they were drawn there, not indeed by the remembrance of Don Beltran's illustrious birth and proud descent, or of Don Martin's warlike feats of arms, but by a loving recollection of him who went forth as a beggar from his father's halls, and became as a fool for Christ's sake. The glory of the warlike Loyolas has passed away, the memory of their noble deeds has faded from the memory of man, the sanctity of Ignatius has alone rescued his father's house from forgetfulness and obscurity.

On leaving Aspeitia, the traveller follows a broad road to the right along the banks of the Urola, and after a few steps, the long narrow valley opens before him and the glorious domed church of Loyola stands out against the background of wooded hills. It was a lovely sight as

beheld on a bright October evening ; the setting sun cast a soft rose tint over the mountains and made the rich autumn foliage shine like burnished gold. Picturesque looking peasants were still busily working in the fields of maize which extend on either side of the clear deep stream, the little Chapel of Nuestra Señora de Olaz, with its white walls was clear and distinct on a hill to the right, while in front, where once rose the turrets of the old feudal manor, stood the grand church which, through the faith of her Kings, Spain has raised to the memory of one of her most glorious sons. As the traveller pursues his road, his attention is arrested by a marble slab bearing some gold letters, and which has been placed by the road side. A Spanish inscription tells him that on this spot St. Ignatius was in the habit of kneeling down to recite a *Salve* in honour of our Lady of Olaz, whose little sanctuary stands exactly opposite, on the other bank of the Urola.

On one side of the Church of St. Ignatius is a large house which was inhabited by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and on the other an equally extensive building, which is still unfinished and was destined to be a College. In spite of the brightness of the surrounding scene, the wooded hills and fertile valley, over which the setting sun shed a farewell halo, there was something sad and desolate about the now solitary house and deserted church. The sons of Ignatius have been driven from their founder's home, and the vast pile of buildings is now uninhabited, save perhaps by the angels who still watch over the cradle of Christ's warrior saint. A magnificent marble staircase leads up to the church, which is profusely decorated with varied and precious marbles. The Fathers' house, erected chiefly through the munificence of the Spanish sovereigns, is on an equally large scale, with its grand staircase, adorned with life-size statues of the principal saints of the Society, its vast refectory and broad corridors and cloisters. But far more interesting are the remains of the old manor house, the "Casa solar" of Loyola, which have been reverently preserved, and stand surrounded by the more modern buildings. The *façade* is still there—

the low doorway surmounted by the armorial bearings of the house carved in stone, the narrow windows, the old walls, gray with age, all speak to us of a time long since gone by.

We enter by the low doorway, closed from within by a heavy wooden bar, which has remained there since the days of our saint. Pilgrims, anxious to bear away some remembrance of Loyola, have chipped and notched the thick piece of wood upon which the hand of Ignatius no doubt often rested. Did that hand tremble as it drew back the bar for the last time, on the eventful day when the young knight went forth to a new life, a life of warfare, hard and bitter? Did his foot hesitate as it crossed the threshold, and did the brave heart waver as it bade adieu to all it was leaving, the happy home, the admiring love of friends and brothers, every bright and glorious hope of future fame, laurels hardly won and stained with blood, a noble and brilliant career, due to his own bold efforts? And before him was a life of bitter penance and constant struggle, a life which must have appeared one of deepest humiliation to that haughty son of an old chivalrous race. Strong indeed must have been the voice that prompted such a resolution, and divine the strength that bore the loyal heart through the last adieu! Later, no doubt, in the midst of the wondrous revelations and ecstasies of Manresa, God revealed to His chosen one something of the great work to which he was called, but in the first days of his conversion he saw nothing of the future glories of the order he was to found. No visions of great deeds done for Christ's name, of thousands of souls trained to holiness, and whole nations led back to faith, cheered his first steps towards a new life. All was dark then; he only felt that he was called upon to sacrifice what he had hitherto loved and prized, and that he must go forth, poor and penitent, to suffer and be despised for his Master's sake.

Ascending the staircase, we pass the little chapel which was once the family oratory of Loyola, and where St. Francis Borgia said his first mass, and we reach the chamber, now a chapel, where Ignatius lay after his return

from Pampeluna. It is a long low room, fitted up with rare taste and richness, and divided into two parts by an iron railing. The high altar stands on the spot once occupied by the saint's bed; smaller altars, dedicated to saints of the Society, are on either side. On the low ceiling are painted several scenes of the life of Ignatius. The first shows him to us at Loyola, a curly-headed little child, playing at his mother's knee. Numerous and precious relics in rich cases have been let into the ceiling. Lonely and deserted as is the empty house, yet no sacrilegious hands have been laid on its treasures, and the reverent devotion of the Basque peasants still guards from profanation the home of their beloved saint. On the other side of the railing is the space where the pilgrims knelt to hear mass; here are statues of different Jesuit saints, and a portrait of St. Ignatius in armour. It is a dark, bronzed, Spanish looking face, very different to the pale chastened countenance we know so well of Ignatius in his later years. It is hardly a beautiful or a strictly handsome face, but one full of life, strength, and energy—the bright, dark eye, bronzed cheek, firm lip, speak of the daring courage of a proud fiery nature, and carry us back to that day when, on the battered walls of Pampeluna, the brave young knight led out his men to conquer or to die. It was in this very room that he lay after his return. With what mingled feelings of compassion and pride was the wounded soldier received when, borne on a stretcher, he came in sight of his home! How, the fame of his gallant deeds having gone before him, the peasants of the valley crowded round, less to pity than to admire him whom they had known from his childhood! Don Beltran and his wife had gone to their rest, but Don Martin, now the head of the house, doubtless came out to receive the brother, who had so proudly upheld the grand old name of Loyola.

We can well imagine, too, how irksome to the young man's restless spirit must have been those weary months of enforced repose, how he fretted on his bed of pain, not indeed at the physical suffering, which he bore with unflinching courage, but at the idleness and monotony of those

endless days. Then came that incident which shows us how strong an element of worldly vanity was mingled with that lofty nature in which we, poor mortals, are almost glad to recognize a weakness. He dreaded nothing more, his biographers tell us, than any deformity which might take away from the grace and elegance of his figure and render him less competent to shine in those knightly sports and exercises which were his delight. When it was found that in consequence of the broken limb having been awkwardly set, a portion of one of the bones projected below the knee, Ignatius unhesitatingly caused a new operation to be performed. At the price of intense suffering the bone was sawed off, so unbearable to his vanity was the thought of this slight deformity. Later came the period of his convalescence, during which he asked for some of those books of chivalrous adventures, of which he was so fond. Unable to find any, those who surrounded him laid on his bed the Lives of our Lord and the saints. At first, no doubt, he perused the solemn looking volumes with *ennui*, gradually with more interest, and at last with an earnestness which changed the whole current of his life. Here in this same room, St. Peter appeared to him, and here, too, he was visited by the Queen of Heaven and her Divine Son, to Whose service he henceforth consecrated his life. In the adjoining sacristy is a portion of the old red hangings belonging to the saint's bed; one of his fingers and other relics were formerly kept here, but were taken away by the Jesuits when forced to abandon Loyola.

Another look at the gardens, which, though neglected, are still lovely, at the grand domed church and venerable "Casa solar," and we leave Loyola, not, however, without breathing a prayer that ere long the sons of St. Ignatius may be suffered to re-enter their founder's home. If we care to pursue our road along the valley, ten minutes more walking will bring us to Ascoytia, a little town as quaintly picturesque as Aspeitia, and which was the birthplace of Doña Maria Saenz de Licon y Balda, Ignatius' mother. Just before entering the town, we leave to our right on the mountain side above us two gloomy, monastic looking buildings—the Convents of Santa Brigida and

Santa Cruz. On the way back to Aspeitia, diverging from the main road, a rough and narrow path will lead the traveller to the little Chapel of Nuestra Señora de Olaz. There is nothing striking about the chapel or its statue, nothing save the remembrance that Ignatius, as his biographers tell us, often came here in his childhood. It is easy to picture to ourselves the bright, high-spirited boy, full of noble instincts, it is true, yet thoroughly human, thoroughly boyish, with plenty of childish waywardness and mischief, and causing, perhaps, no small anxiety to the mother whose hand first led him to our Lady of Olaz.

There is something, it would seem, specially attractive to us in saints whose conversion has been the work of time, they appeal more strongly to our human sympathies and human weakness. The penitent tears of an Augustine, or the struggles of a Francis Xavier, touch us far more deeply than the precocious and unvaried sanctity of a St. Aloysius. For the erring sheep of Christ's fold, for those who like our own Ignatius have belonged to the world, who have loved its joys and been buffeted by its storms, for those who have sinned and struggled before falling at the Saviour's feet, we feel not mere admiration, but a warm, human love and sympathy. An ethereal young saint, who from his very boyhood seems to have lived in a sphere above us, so free is he from every touch of human frailty, will never appeal to our hearts as Ignatius does, with his fiery, ambitious, worldly youth, his dreams of happiness and glory, and the heroic sanctity of his later years.

Yet, within a day's journey from Loyola, if, crossing the French frontier, we leave the Spanish hills with their picturesque beauty, and the blue Bay of Biscay, with its vast expanse and rolling waves, and enter the flat plains of the Landes, we shall come to the cradle of one whose life, by a rare exception, was ever angelical in its innocence, though closely interwoven with the cares and troubles of this fallen world. From the earliest days of his lowly childhood, no wild storm of human passion ever stifled the pure clear tones of the *Sursum corda* speaking

to that happy soul, no dust of earth ever tarnished the spotlessness of that large, loving heart, whose sympathy with all human woe was yet so deep and so intense. In this nineteenth century of ours, we are tempted to look back with a kind of wondering surprise at the crucifying penances of the anchorites of old, and to many amongst us even the lives of the cloistered nuns of our own day appear strange and unnatural. But in St. Vincent of Paul we have a saint who wins admiration from Catholic and Protestant, from sceptic and unbeliever alike. Men who despise or disbelieve the mysticism of an ecstasica, who shudder at the austerities of the Fathers of the Desert, or laugh at the mode of life chosen by a St. Simeon Stylites, will bow down before the active and large-hearted charity of this humble priest. And this tribute of universal respect, almost unique in modern times, has been inherited by the saint's devoted daughters, the well known and well beloved Sisters of Charity. There are few indeed, even among the very outcasts of society, who do not cherish a feeling of reverence for those heroic servants of the poor, those faithful children of a saintly founder, who carry out in the crowded streets of our great cities, in hospitals and orphanages, or on the bloody field of battle, the precepts taught to them by their Father. From his very boyhood, one image alone occupied the mind of St. Vincent; it was that of Him Who so many centuries ago stood in the distant plains of Palestine, giving health to the sick, comfort to the sorrowful, forgiveness to the guilty, health and strength to all; one ambition alone moved his heart, that of treading in the footprints of the Master to Whose service he had consecrated his life. And truly no man ever loved humanity with a stronger and more devoted love than this lowly-born peasants' son, whose single efforts accomplished what philanthropists and philosophers dreamt and planned.

Ranguines, the little hamlet where St. Vincent was born, is about half an hour's drive from Dax, an ancient town of the Landes, whose celebrated mud baths were favoured even in the time of the Romans. Modern Dax, however, with its narrow, lifeless streets, its sluggish river,

and dilapidated old Cathedral, has little to recommend it besides its warm mineral springs, and few save invalids will care to tarry long within its walls. It was to Dax that St. Vincent came at the age of eight years, when his father, struck by the child's precocious goodness and intelligence, resolved, in spite of his poverty, to place him under the care of the Franciscan friars, who undertook, for a comparatively small sum, to educate several poor children of his class. It was a new life for the boy, whose days had hitherto been spent in watching his father's flocks on the lonely Landes, but ere long his quick intelligence, his docility and gentleness, no less than his piety and unsullied innocence, filled the good friars with wonder and admiration. He made such rapid progress in his studies, that, when still very young, M. de Commet, a celebrated lawyer of Dax, confided to him the education of his two sons. Dax continued to be St. Vincent's home till 1576, when, having resolved to consecrate himself entirely to God's service, he received minor orders, and went to pursue his theological studies at Toulouse. We are told by his biographers, that in order to pay the expenses of this long journey, Guillaume de Paul, our saint's father, was obliged to sell a fine pair of oxen. The country round Dax, though flat, is not sterile; here and there, indeed, we come upon a sandy expanse, planted with firs, which reminds us we are in the Landes, but the scenery is varied by cultivated fields and fine oak woods. At the hamlet of the Ranguines, we behold the poor little cottage where our saint first saw the light. There it stands in its primitive simplicity and lowliness, the birth-place of one of whom it may be said that, like the Lord he loved so well, he passed through the world doing good to all.

Guillaume de Paul and Bertrande de Moras, Vincent's parents, were poor peasants, whose worldly possessions consisted in their humble cottage and a few fields, which they cultivated themselves. They had six children, and our saint was their third son. Like his brothers and sisters, his early days were spent in helping his parents in the many cares entailed upon them by their poverty.

and, perhaps out of consideration for his tender years, to him was awarded the task of watching over the flocks, which he used to lead forth to the pastures extending around his birthplace. Throughout his life, even when kings and princes, cardinals and bishops, listened with deference to his words, and paid reverent homage to his sanctity, when women bearing the greatest names in France came like little children to learn from him the science of charity, the peasants' son loved to recall the lowliness of his early years. He gloried in that poverty which seems to us one of this world's hardest crosses, but which Ignatius, the chivalrous high-born Spaniard, voluntarily embraced, and for which St. Francis, the Italian saint, felt such a strange love, that he called poverty his bride.

An altar has been placed inside the little cottage, and upon it are several relics of the saint—a small wooden crucifix, a portion of his well-worn cassock, &c. The woodwork of the narrow rooms has been preserved, and we can distinguish the hearth, around which the family used to gather during the long winter evenings. To the right of the cottage is a magnificent old oak tree, whose history is closely linked with that of the saint. Into its hollow trunk he would retire when a child and spend long hours in silent prayer. Since then, how many pilgrims have halted beneath its shade! In 1823, the Duchesse d'Angoulême was received in state under its wide-spreading branches; its acorns have been carried far and wide, and planted in distant lands, all in memory of the little peasant boy who knelt on that spot more than two hundred years ago.

Close by is the fine church which was begun in 1850. It occupies the ground where the cottage originally stood. Soon after the saint's beatification, his countrymen resolved to raise an altar in his honour on the spot where he was born, and for this purpose the cottage was removed to a few steps distance, and a small chapel built in its stead. Twenty years ago the first stone of the new church was laid, in presence of the Bishop of Dax, surrounded by the sons and daughters of St. Vincent, the Lazarists and Sisters of Charity. It is impossible to repress a feeling of sadness

on drawing near to St. Ignatius' now lonely home at beautiful Loyola ; but no such feeling will be experienced by the traveller visiting St. Vincent's birthplace. Here the saint's children have been suffered to remain near their founder's lowly cradle ; here they still work and pray and practise that charity which was the master passion of his life. The Lazarists have a large house close to the church, and a few steps beyond is a hospital and an orphanage, where St. Vincent's daughters nurse the aged sick and train little children to the love of Him for Whose sake their founder lived and laboured.

Our pilgrimage, however, does not end here. Half an hour beyond St. Vincent's Church is a much-frequented church, of which the origin is well nigh lost in obscurity, but where, from time immemorial, pilgrims have gathered from all parts of the Landes and of Béarn. As is the case with all shrines which popular devotion has made famous, many legends are told in connection with the time-honoured image of our Lady of Buglose, and whether they bear or not the critical test of historical investigation, these traditions, wild or graceful, prove the filial love which has ever been paid to the Mother of God. The traveller visiting Buglose will easily picture to himself the poor little peasant child, who, his historians tell us, loved to kneel at the feet of the gracious Queen, whose image was associated in his mind with all that was fair and pure, merciful and loving. He often, no doubt, laid on her altar the wild flowers which he gathered during his lonely watches on the Landes, and prayed before her image just as nearly in the century before the boy Ignatius had prayed to our Lady of Olaz.

How strangely different were those two young lives which both began under the protection of Mary ! The Spanish child, surrounded from his birth with the pride and pomp of a high descent, the splendour of a Court, and the dazzling prestige of military glory, became poor and despised for Christ's sake. After many a hard struggle and sharp pang, he hung up his sword near Mary's altar, at Montserrat, and, casting away the proud dreams of his youth, he accomplished a great work in the

Church's history, and lived to found the glorious order to whom he transmitted his own brave, dauntless spirit, which persecution could never break. That passionate love of earthly glory and human applause which characterized his youth was merged into one deep, all-absorbing feeling of contempt for self and zeal for the glory of God. The French boy's humble childhood was passed in poverty and solitude. That life, destined to spend itself in the crowded thoroughfares of a great city, commenced amidst the broad, boundless plains where the child watched his father's flocks, and then in the peaceful seclusion of a Franciscan monastery. Like Ignatius, he, too, no doubt, had his boyish dreams and youthful ambitions, but no visions of knightly adventures or warlike deeds ever crossed his youthful mind; the poverty and lowliness of his home had given him far different impressions, and the tendency of his gentle disposition led him towards a life of solitude and prayer. Perchance, he once thought of spending his days in some quiet Franciscan cell, and little did he dream of the arduous apostolate to which God was to call him.

Yet there was in that pure, young heart, together with a deep love for prayer and solitude, an ardent, active charity, which was gradually to become its master passion. As a child, Vincent loved to give away to those poorer than himself the scanty allowance of food which his parents were able to afford him, and even the humble garments which clothed his poverty. We all know how, by degrees, his unwearied and large-hearted charity poured itself out on all around him, and how, at last, the name of this simple, lowly-born priest became a household word throughout the length and breadth of France, and the little peasant boy of the Landes was looked upon as the truest benefactor of suffering humanity. His charity not only embraced the poor and sorrowing of his own country, it extended far and wide; Sardinia, Corsica, Naples, Austria, Prussia, Poland, the distant Hebrides, Ireland, and our own England experienced the loving zeal of that truly Catholic soul. Countries more distant still were not forgotten; to Madagascar, China, America, Persia, and Syria, he sent missionaries whom he had trained and taught; while in

France, no phase of human suffering escaped his notice. Little children forsaken in the streets of Paris, prisoners forgotten and neglected in the solitude of their dungeons, the wretched galley-slaves toiling away their lives in shame and woe ; all were cared for, helped and comforted by his unwearied love. To the rich and noble he taught self-denial and self-sacrifice, for none could resist the gentle earnestness of his appeal when he collected alms for his beloved poor, and we can well understand the cry of grief that arose all over France when it was known that he had breathed his last. In him truly was realized the ideal of a priest, such as it was defined by one of the noblest spirits of our day—*Fort comme le diamant et plus tendre qu' une Mère.*

St. Vincent's body rests in the country he served so faithfully and loved so well, within the walls of the city which was the chief scene of his labours, while the bones of St. Ignatius repose far away from the land of his birth, in the midst of that Rome, the city of his adoption, and the home of his later years. But the memory of both still lingers round the scenes where their early days were spent ; and to all who admire the heroism of Christian sacrifice and the beauty of Christian charity, the "Casa solar" of Loyola and the little cottage of the Landes, will ever have an imperishable interest, as being the cradles of two saints.

N.

The Old Family Records of Provence.

WHILE looking on in a kind of stupefied wonder at the present breaking-up of most of the European monarchies and forms of rule, and observing the general loosening of all moorings and principles in regard to the solid foundations and essence of government, we are glad to revert to the kernel or germ of all discipline and social order, which, being despised, or neglected and set aside, has either dwindled out of sight or been wilfully ignored, and thus the general disruption of society seems to be threatened.

This grand, simple foundation-stone of the Christian family, which has been from the beginning the type of all lasting Governments, was, especially in the period reaching from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, the pivot on which all social rule turned, and the source from which it developed. And so long as true principles and belief were practically acted upon by the head of the family, and carefully inculcated and enforced by him upon his household, so long was real social order maintained, while social well being in its only true sense, flourished and became fruitful in the Christian greatness and success of the State. The family principle, or patriarchal rule of the master of each household, has been frequently and fully developed in the various tribes of the German stock, and there has been a general tendency to seek its existence and consequences only in that direction. It will be seen, however, from a brief study of the modern French author from whom we shall quote largely in this paper, that the small hundreds, or *communes*, of Southern France derived the same principle filtered

through the Roman possession of Gaul; being, in fact, the traditional inheritance of that marvellous Empire from an Eastern primitive source.

M. de Ribbe¹ boldly confronts the decay of religion and moral principles in France since the Great Revolution, by reverting to the original archives of his own country, especially in Provence, and out of their evidence alone brings the most striking chain of witness to bear upon the unspeakable value of the family in the State.

The testimony brought by this writer has its great value, because a belief has obtained, especially in this country, that while the inhabitants of the northern provinces of France were rather exceptionally religious, upright, and reliable, the southern portions were distinguished by the contrary characteristics. Normandy and Brittany, for instance, have been looked as more English or British in their mind and ways; Burgundy, Alsace, and Lorraine were quoted as more Frank and German; while the south of France, being Greek, Latin, or Basque, was supposed to retain the tone as well as a good deal of the language of their origin. It is curious when mixing much or intimately with French people, to note that their apprehension of the Norman character has passed into a proverb of a diametrically opposite tinge to our own, and that *fin Normand* is almost sure to be quoted wherever conversation turns upon the national characteristics or divergencies.

Provence, which is the seat of M. de Ribbe's investigations, has been perhaps less opened up and explored historically hitherto, as its wonderful scenes and local traditions have been almost hidden mysteries from most eyes. Yet Provence seems to be a perfect treasury of a vast body of social traditions, abundantly proving that what has been currently supposed to be wholly wanting in France, namely, family life and its foundations, was formerly the very tap-root of its stability and true grandeur as a Christian kingdom.

To begin with, it was the custom of the Provençal families to perpetuate in their houses a family record,

¹ *Les Familles et la Société en France*, &c., Charles de Ribbe.

called the house book, or account book,² in which were entered the details of their business and property, as well as any chief incidents or events of the family life. Part of the record was devoted to these last, together with any unusual fact which had occurred in the country, or what we should call the news of the day; and part to a summary of the family rents, outgoings, sales, expenditure, marriage statements, and wills. These house books were looked upon as so important, that letters patent were granted by several of the Kings of France for their registration. It will at once be seen that the inscriptions, formulas, and general tone of these family records, written sometimes in great haste, generally briefly, and in the spontaneous style and language of their date, give a world of insight into the family life and story of the country which no theoretical after-process of historical building upon induction can yield. M. de Ribbe gives a multitude of examples, as it were, to show what was the general staple of the house books, and what the tone of mind and habitual speech of their owners. For instance—

Ici finit le livre de raison de M. François de Villeneuve de Cananilles, mon père, lequel est mort le 11 Septembre, 1717. Le Seigneur ait reçu son âme dans son saint Paradis.³

The children of the house were very early advised to put down their expenditure, that they might know the use of money, and refrain from foolish spending; and above all, that they might learn the value of time and education while they were young—

Taschez de prendre un peu de temps pour lire les bons livres, et escrire, dans vostre mémorial ou livre de raison, toutes les affaires qu'avez faites dans la journée.⁴

² *Liber rationum, Liber domus mei*, in the fifteenth century.

³ "Here ends the account book of M. François de Villeneuve de Cananilles, my father, who died, &c. May the Lord have received his soul into His holy Paradise."

⁴ "Try to take a little time to read good books, and to write down in your record or account book whatever business you have done in the day." This last record, of M. de Monge, in the Lower Alps, 1687, is a complete summary of duty and conduct for his household.

Later on in the course of these records, the entries are fuller and more developed, giving a more complete and varied idea of the writer's character and attainments. Here is one, addressed by a father to his sons, written as late as 1807—

As long as you are thinking only of pleasure and dissipation, you have not much time for opening and reading your forefather's account book. But if God brings you to ripeness of age, you will take pleasure in turning over these pages. They will bring to mind a father whom you loved, and whose sole business, as well as your excellent good mother's, has been to give you such an education as should furnish you with courage to bear adversity, and talents and knowledge which will suffice to overcome your difficulties and build up your fortune in life.⁵

Pierre Joseph de Colonia, the writer, as is evident, a noble and cultivated gentleman, resolved that his children should not degenerate from the tone and traditions of their forefathers; but these house records were by no means confined to the noble, or even to the upper and highly cultivated classes of France. The Provençal shopkeepers, cultivators, and peasants, also kept their account books, which in the "darkness" and "ignorance" of the early part of the sixteenth century, they were well able to note for themselves. When we compare this undoubted fact with even the present condition of our own labourers, say of southern counties, we shall perhaps be convinced that our social structure is too extensively glazed to allow of much throwing of stones at the past. We see, too, that the Paris shopkeeper, whose chronicle of Charles the Sixth's reign throws so much light on that time, or Pierre de Estoile, who devoted himself to noting the events of the reigns of Henry the Third and Henry the Fourth, to "amuse himself at dull moments," were not prodigies, but merely sustainers of a French traditional custom—a custom which has doubtless done much to amass the extraordinary wealth of memoirs and contemporary records which France possesses.

Again, there is, as we have said, evidence in these house books, of the chain of another tradition, which adds something more to their suggestive value. Throughout

⁵ Account book of Pierre Joseph de Colonia, 1807.

the south of France, but in Provence particularly, many local customs and usages claim a Roman origin, and date from Cisalpine Gaul, when a province of the Pagan Empire. The authority of the father of the family, his magistrature, so to speak, or absolute rule and government over his family and neighbourhood, and the exactness of the administration, are distinctly drawn from the Roman model; just as the house book itself may have been carried on directly from the *tablinum*, its Pagan prototype. The same custom is even more largely observed in the Florentine and other family records.⁶

Throughout Europe, in the middle ages, there was, no doubt, a uniformity of thought, customs, and mind, which we should vainly seek to restore, especially as that outside varnish of civilization, which is called in cant phrase "progress," delights, like Juggernaut, in strewing its path with the dead bodies of all ancient and time-honoured habits. The first and most deeply rooted of these customs, was the dedication of every daily act to God, and the domestic use of His name. The dedication of a Provençal house book in the time of King René, for instance, is almost as solemn as the form of religious vows—

Jesus Christ, 1477.

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, His glorious Mother, and the heavenly court of Paradise, whom I invoke as they ought to be invoked for every good and perfect work, for from these proceed all good, nobleness, and success in temporal affairs. (This is) the state of the family and fortune of me, Jaume Deydier, a native of Toulon, but at these presents dwelling at Ollioules. I have begun this book for my personal benefit and that of my successors, whom I commend to our Lord Jesus and His glorious Mother, not forgetting Monseigneur St. Claude, whose pilgrim I was in the year 1472, the 3rd of the month of September.

A cross was also often prefixed, as to some ritual act, or a pious motto, such as—"Thou shalt give an account of thy stewardship;" thus keeping in the mind of the whole household, not only that the possessions came from God, and were only farmed for Him, but that gifts, time, opportunities, and all else which avails to turn life to Christian account, must be husbanded and administered

⁶ Known as *Ricordi*, *Ricordanze*, *Ricordi de famiglia*.

for Him, and under the divine eye. The marriage contracts usually are announced by "Praise be to God," or, "To the praise of God, from Whom all good things proceed." Wills and bequests seem particularly rich in such forms, which, if they may be called only formulas, still reveal the spirit and impressions of the age. The wills generally open with a solemn commendation of the soul to *Nostre Seigneur J. Christ, à la glorieuse Vierge Marie, sa benoiste Mère, à tous les saints et saintes de Paradis*, with the additional notification that as the soul is nobler than the body from which it is about to part, and was created in God's own image, it should be named in the first place. The legacies are made "in God's honour." "Live uprightly to God, all the rest shall become vanishing smoke," says one father to his successor, in face of death. Others set down and transmit, as it were, a family motto or legend, which was used from father to son; as Antoyne Olivarii (Olivier), counsellor in the Parliament of Provence—*Ego autem sicut oliva fructifera in domo Dei, speravi in misericordia Domini in æternum et in sæculum sæculi*, and others frequently use—*Nisi Dominus ædificaverit domum, in vanum laboraverunt qui ædificant eam*.

Lawyers and notaries, again, have their special mottoes or reminders of God's presence and of Him as the End of all their work. In 1630 one writes in the quaint French of his day—

Ce sont les contracts que j'ay faicts en l'année 1630, priant Dieu de me faire de mieux en mieux travailler, et que ce soit à sa gloire, à celle de la Vierge, et de Madame Ste. Anne, le suppliant de me faire la grâce que je puisse vivre en homme de bien et exercer ma charge sans aucun manquement.⁷

That there was in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a deep knowledge and wide-spread love of the Sacred Scriptures in France, is abundantly manifest by the extraordinary frequency of the allusions in these social records to sacred history and its personages. Numerous

⁷ "These are the contracts that I made in the year 1630, begging of God to let me labour better and better, and that I may do so to His glory, and to the honour of the Virgin and Madame St. Anne, beseeching Him to give me grace to live as a good man, and to fulfil my duty without failing."

notices transpire of the daily teaching of the children from their earliest age by their father or mother in the Scripture stories, so that at six or seven years old the boys began to read the New Testament in Latin with their father. We find, therefore, without surprise, that the Psalms and books of the prophets were made the special subject of daily meditation by the great lawyers and advocates of the French bar; and the eminent Chancellor, l'Hopital, whose life is a summary of Christian example, has recorded in his writings that "the Scriptures were his port of refuge in the storms of life." It is remarkable, too, that the Old Scriptures seem to have been as accurately and reverently studied as the rest of the sacred books, and in the public records Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Tobias, with Sara, Rebecca, and Rachel, are continually brought forward both as types and examples. Christine de Pesan's record of the last blessing of Charles the Fifth (the Wise) to his son, comes before us as a thoroughly patriarchal scene. It will be at once understood that the quaintness of the old French is wholly lost in the translation.

As Abraham blessed and established his son Isaac in the dew of heaven and the fat of the earth, and in the abundance of corn, oil, and wine; ordering that whosoever blessed him should be blessed, and whosoever cursed him should be under a malison, so may it please God that to this Charles may fall the dew of heaven, and the fat of the earth, and the abundance of corn, oil, and wine, that his children's children shall serve him, that he shall be the lord over his brethren, that children of his mother shall bow down before him. "Let whoever blesseth him be blessed, and upon whomsoever curseth him let a malison fall."⁸

After these solemn words, heard as coming with a sacred power, the King further gave the benediction—*Benedictio Dei, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, descendat*

⁸ "Comme Abraham son fils Isaac, en la rousée du ciel, et en gresse de la terre, et en l'abondance du ferment vin et oiele, beney et constitua, en enjoignant que qui benistroit luy fust beneit, et qui le mauldroit fust rempli de maleisson, ainsi plaise à Dieu qu'à cesticy Charles doint la rousée du ciel et la gresse de la terre, et l'abondance de forment, vin et oiele, et que les lignées le servent, et soit seigneur de tous ses frères, et s'inclinent devant luy les fils de sa mère. Qui le beneistra soit beneit, et qui le mauldira soit rempli de maleisson" (*Les Familles et la Société en France*).

super vos, et maneat semper—to all those round his bed, who knelt to receive it.

Like examples might be almost interminably multiplied in proof of this one supreme reigning idea of God which then distinguished all classes of life in France, their equal familiarity with the Old and New Scriptures, and the reference to the patriarchs as examples in the same way as the saints under the New Law. Thus Montaigne's friend, La Boétie, when on his deathbed, made use of the following profession of faith—

I protest that as I was baptized and lived, so will I also die (under) in the faith and religion which Moses first planted in Egypt, which the Fathers received afterwards in Judæa, and which in the course of time, passed from hand to hand, and was brought into France.

The birth of children was a source of abundant expressions of faith and love of God. The house books abound with such notes after the entries of a son or daughter's birth in the family—"God give him a long life and the grace to be a good man!" "May he live in the holy fear of God." "God grant him the grace of being one of His good and faithful servants in this world, that he may glorify Him for ever in the next."

"If she is likely to offend God," says Trophime Trone de Codolet, "may He give her the grace of being withdrawn from the world before the use of reason! Either holy or nothing" (*aut sancta, aut nulla*).

Late in the eighteenth century, even, just before the Great Revolution, a merchant of Aix wrote these beautiful words in his house book on the birth of his son, Henri Joseph Abel, whose eminent talents were unavailingly employed throughout life in the cause of faith and religion—

I beg of God to preserve this child to me, if it is for His glory and his own salvation. His mother and I will do everything possible to bring him up in a Christian manner, and strive to give him all the teaching in our power to make him a good Christian and a perfect, honourable man. May heaven grant our prayers not to be fruitless, and that he may be happy now and for a glorious eternity.

On the occasion of the death of a child the evidences of faith and love were still more abounding in the family records. "God has called him to Paradise," says one

entry. Another, "He has left us to take his flight to heaven, where may God bring us also by His holy mercy!" "Our daughter Anne has left this world for heaven. May God preserve the rest of our children to His own honour and glory!" A father with eighteen children says, "It was just that I should pay back something to our good God. It seemed even as if I owed Him the tithe of my children. I must not mourn for my loss, since it gives me a pleading angel in heaven." A house book of 1684 has the entry of a death with, "The good God is Master; He gives the children and takes them away, and He knows why."

As the masters of the house in France looked to God in the first place, so they taught their children to recognize God in their own authority and jurisdiction; and this magnificent habit was perpetuated from quite early times until the beginning of the eighteenth century. Throughout, this probably unparalleled Christian course of any nation, the one leading idea of the well ordered family, as the source and root of sound social life, was distinctly maintained and handed down in its integrity from age to age in France, and volumes of quotations could be given from the notes of Provençal houses alone, to show that men of all classes were alike taught, and alike practised, the great moral truth that the good father, the good husband, and the good brother, would also prove to be the good citizen, soldier, and sustainer of his country's honour and welfare.

It is a fact worthy of note, that during the course of the real Christian prosperity of France, there was a vitality and outgrowth from the lower middle class, which is generally supposed to be essentially Teutonic, and which we see habitually among ourselves, but which seems to have been choked or dried up in the French people by the centralizing and withering influences of the Great Revolution. The small trading or agricultural families in Provence especially, by their unwearied industry and perseverance in management and economy, gradually put out suckers which achieved a new growth; so that men of a very humble origin left their elder family stem

far behind them in the race for honour, and became state councillors, presidents of Parliament, and men of historical name at the bar. The family Du Laurens, now so well known by the publication of *Une Famille au Seizieme Siècle*, was a notable example of this fact in Provence. There also, for some centuries, a healthy influence was kept up by the continued emigration from the Alpine and Lower Alpine villages to the plains. Those who travel through the south of France and the highlands of the Dauphiné and Maritime Alps, are saddened by the constant recurrence of deserted castles, houses, and nearly whole villages, which shows how terribly the whole hill country forming the Alpine base has been emptied of its population. Formerly the subdivided family branches of a country magnate surrounded their chief like clansmen; and from these hardy and high-minded mountain families sprang some of the most celebrated names of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries in France.

One of these, in the eighteenth century, thus speaks of his family. After giving many interesting details, too lengthy to note, of the founding of his village, or mountain town, by his ancestors, he modestly says that he cannot trace the family higher than early in the fifteenth century (1433).

It may be that our family does not begin earlier than Antoine, and we ought to be content that our ancestors have always been good people. . . . Thank God, by His almighty power we are prospering, my family is gradually becoming more distinguished, and His greatest gift is that I desire more and more to lead a good life. It has always been our family gift. *Fortes creantur fortibus*. It is this example which I exhort all who come after me to follow. Better is a good reputation than ten thousand additional livres a year. I am glad to hear my father's goodness, integrity, and uprightness commended every day. Every house laments his death, as if he had been its head, and the same is recorded of my forefathers, because they too walked in the path of the just. They were good to the poor, and I recommend you (his children) to practise this virtue. This is a duty laid on us by God, Who gives us our wealth, and it is one which is also rewarded in this world. It is to the alms which have always been given from this house that I ascribe the many favours given to us, and the wealth we possess. *Non ebre et gemmis, non auro vera paratur Nobilitas; aliquid majus habere decet.*

Later on, the descendant of this excellent man gives a mournful account of the change in his village, where

formerly so many good people kept up the tradition of real Christian life. Now, he says, no one reads or studies, men are sunk in the grossest ignorance, and spend their time in the squares or open places, speaking ill of every one they know, and looking with an evil eye on any of their neighbours who try to avoid slander and lead a good life. It is to this most evil, depreciatory practice, that he ascribes the general decay or blight of religion in the country.

Idleness is invariably spoken of in the house books as the utmost evil. Ange Nicolas de Gardane says to his children (1764)—

To fill up your time well is to know how to live, to be idle is to vegetate. The first is proper to man, the second to beasts. . . . Idleness leads to dissipation, and can neither make us honoured or esteemed. Nevertheless, to be honoured and esteemed is what we should aim at, the only real way of reaching our end and our honourable ambition. . . . It is not enough not to do what is bad and leads to evil; we ought to live well, better, and do good to others. . . . Do not be miserly, for avarice is the most detestable vice towards society, but be orderly and foreseeing. Avarice is the insatiable thirst of money, for money's sake. Economy, on the other hand, is wisdom and virtue. This indeed helps to amass wealth, but only to make a good use of it during one's life. Money is an abominable master, but should be used as a servant.

This care and pains and ceaseless toil of family cultivation was applied, next in order, to the public benefit, and it is remarkable how entirely the Teutonic-Frank model of local government obtained in the south of France, a model so radically opposed to the modern French theory of civilization in which successive revolutions seem to have drowned all the ancient Frank types of rule. In 1774, we find inscribed in the rolls of the Provence Parliament—"Each of our communes is a family governing itself, making its own laws, and watching over its own affairs, of which the municipal officer is the father."

In the same way as the house or account books stirred up the emulation and carried on the traditions of the different families, the communal registers stirred up the public spirit of each separate little State. They had their registers bound in different coloured sheepskins, yellow, red,

green, and black, which gave their names to the several registers, in which were classified the various statistics of morals, finance, administration, and produce. And in these various records, religious mottoes, texts, and remarks are as freely and naturally used as in those preserved by the private families. In one of these (1640) is a long passage from Plato's *Republic*, translated into Latin; and many other such chance opportunities give evidence that there must have been a considerable amount of careful and well cultivated attainment. It also appears that there were, in Provence alone, six hundred and eighty of these little self-governing communes, who under this amount of simple rule achieved a sufficient degree of prosperity, and certainly of social peace and order. Each head of a family, householder, or *cap d'ostal*, was an elector, and numbers of instances could be cited to show what full liberty was possessed and used under the old communal system of France, when men were educated and cultivated to appreciate both their freedom and its duties.

The account is given by a town clerk of Briançon of an election for the two consuls, or chief magistrates, an unpaid office to which the elected were bound, unless sickness, or known grave maladies, or age beyond seventy years, or having a large family to educate, gave them exemption. The form of oath to which the consuls-elect at Arles swore, was—*Si consul electus fuero, non me vetabo*, while at Metz the only exemption to the consuls is where the Cross has been taken to deliver Jerusalem.

Sometimes even the excuse of the heavy responsibilities of education was not accepted. There is a record extant in which a citizen of Salon, on the Rhône, pleads in vain that the educating his eight or nine children might exempt him from discharging the office of consul, to which he had been elected. A deputation to the Governor replied that M. Nostredame's objection showed him wanting in his duty as a good citizen and put the commune to great inconvenience. After this, M. Nostredame accepted the charge, and solaced himself with two lines of verse—

Ignorant qui ne sçait qu'une charge commune,
Est pesante, espineuse, incommode, importune.

He might well say so, for in addition to the loss of time and peace, it seems that the mayors and consuls were made responsible for the communal debts, and at Dragingnan the police once surprised the mayor, who was a barrister, in a consultation, while the *damoiselle son épouse* was busy in the kitchen, and took him into custody till the commune raised the sum due for taxes, to the tune of thirty-three thousand francs, and set him free.

It is worth noting, when tracing the similarity of family resemblance in free communal life throughout Europe, that, as the Germans and Anglo-Saxons collected for courts of justice or popular assemblies under some ancient or noted oak tree, so the Provençal villagers gathered in the square adorned by some spreading elm, called in the local charters *platea ulmi*, which, like the Basque oak of Guernica, became the type and origin of the modern French trees of liberty, commemorating only riot and bloodshed.

When we read in the old German records that the "house father" was absolute lord over his household, even dispensing the punishment of death, we are still far from picturing to ourselves the whole scope of his authority and rule. And it is certainly surprising to find the Teutonic type, for which we are more apt to look in Normandy and Brittany, reproduced in the south of France and borders of Spain. In one of the Provence house books a curious scene is placed before us, in which the father is releasing his son from the family bonds of submission and putting him in a condition to become a house father himself.

The said father being seated on a chair with his son before him, on his knees and bareheaded, took his son's two hands into both his, and listening to his prayer and desire, of his wish and freewill released and freed him from his fatherly authority, save and except the honour, reverence, and friendship which his son owes, and who humbly thanked him. In token of this the father, opening his hands, released the hands of his son and set him entirely free, making him thenceforth a house father, able to do business and make contracts for himself, enter into obligations for his own gain and good, and able to inherit any goods that the generosity of others, good fortune, or his own industry, might procure.

In tracing the story of one only of these families, we gain no inconsiderable insight into French history, and,

let us say, at the same time, the history of all countries, and the sources both of their prosperity and greatness and their total decline. M. de Ribbe has promised to give at some future time the story of the Deydiers of Ollioules—a promise which we hope soon to see fulfilled—as the brief notices given by him of the family of the De Garidels of Aix, in Provence, beginning with 1584 and coming down to the Great Revolution, are full of interest. At his marriage, in 1605, Joseph de Garidel, having noted that “the sacrament was administered in the Church of St. Madeleine, and that his brothers assisted at it,” adds—*Dieu me fasse la grâce que ce soit pour longues années et à son honneur et gloire!* Thirteen years afterwards his wife dies, and he again notes the fact with—

God grant me the grace of seeing her again some day, more beautiful and more glorious still. She died so Christianly that I pray this great Christ, through the intercession of His holy Mother, to let me die in the same way when He shall be pleased to call me.

When named to a high legal post, he says, “I have passed my year very happily and honourably, *sit nomen Domini benedictum!*”

His son, Pierre de Garidel, built himself a house, in which his descendants have till lately lived. He died in 1686, charging his son to keep up the family traditions. This injunction was faithfully observed, and in his house book this son records many events and graces bestowed, which he ascribes wholly to the virtues of their ancestor Joseph—

Who died in the odour of sanctity, the oracle of the bar, the father of the poor, very charitable and honourable, and well looked on by every one. May God grant me and mine the favour of imitating him, and never departing from that goodness (*prud'homme*).

So it goes on till Bruno Pierre de Garidel became councillor of the Parliament of Provence in 1777, who left his country on the breaking out of the Great Revolution in 1790; but returned to his beloved home to devote himself to the education of his son, and concluded his family house book with the suggestive note—“May God pour upon him [his son] His holy blessing, and above all keep him from unbelief!”

During the universal European outburst of religious excitement in the sixteenth century Reformation, when the French peasants and working class pillaged the chateaux and forestalled the atrocities of the Great Revolution, the landed proprietors of Provence still retained the same grand characteristics, springing from their strong grasp of the Christian principles of social well being.

Pierre Pithou, in his will (1587), thus expresses himself—

In this most unhappy age, in the midst of the corruption and degradation of morals, I have, as far as it was possible, preserved my integrity. I have treated my wife as a second self. *I have shown little weakness towards my children.* I have shown consideration for human nature (human failings) in my servants. In my own life the (service of the) public good has been my first consideration, which I have put in the first place, with the conviction that the best and safest side is to refer all actions to the general welfare.

Although, up to the seventeenth century, especially in France, women kept themselves in modest retirement, and, as it were, within the cloister of their home life, they were not a whit behindhand in administration and influence with their families. There is given, in the *Loyal Serviteur*, a beautiful address of a mother to her son, in the fifteenth century, the external grace of which is entirely shorn when robbed of its quaint French.

Pierre, my son, . . . I recommend to you as strongly as I can three things, the which, if you observe, be sure that you will ever live victoriously in this world.

The first is, that above all things you love, fear, and serve God, without ever offending Him if it is possible; for it is He Who has created us all and gives us life, He Who will save us, and without Him and His grace we shall not do a single good work in this world. Every evening and morning recommend yourself to Him, and He will help you.

The second thing is that you be gentle and courteous to every gentleman, stripping yourself of pride. Be humble and ready to serve any one; not an evil speaker nor truth-breaker, and sober in meat and drink. Fly from envy, for it is a frightful vice; be neither a flatterer nor a talebearer, for such kind of ways never lead to great perfection. Be loyal in deed and word; keep your promises; help poor widows and orphans, and God will guerdon you for it in return.

The third thing is that you help the poor and needy out of the goods given you by God, for what is bestowed to His honour will never impoverish any man, and know, my child, that such alms as you can give will greatly profit both your body and soul. This is all I will charge you with. I think neither your father nor I shall live much longer. God grant us grace at least, that so long as we are in this life, we may hear a good account of you.

To which the departing young knight replied—

Madame ma mère, I thank you most humbly for your good teaching, and hope to follow it so well, through His grace to Whom you commend me, that you may be satisfied with me.

The mother then gave her son all the money she had about her, and bade his servant take charge of a little valise, in which she had packed some linen for his use.

In the following century Madame du Plessis-Mornay wrote her husband's life and her own, for her son's benefit, and when giving it him, she added—

Above all, my son, I thought you would remember me, when I should hear it told, wherever you might be, that you were serving God and following your father's steps. I shall go down gladly to the grave whenever God shall call me, if I see you in the path of advancing His honour in a settled life, . . . retracing him in yourself if, by His grace, He gives you to outlive your father.

The one idea, in fact the leading idea, to which everything was referred—the family life or household—was the root of French society up to the Revolution, and must be restored and cultivated afresh if France is to be re-established in any vigour of lasting life. Certain “nostrums,” of some special governing chambers, of direct or indirect taxation, and the nostrum-general, or master-panacea, of rifled cannon and a standing army, may indeed raise it, or any State, to some temporary pre-eminence of political success; but the solid well being of the country and its people can never be grounded on any firm basis, or bring forth the fruits of settled peace, until the whole growth forms round the central sap of the Christian family and hearth. It may be, of course, that one European country after another has passed this meridian of true greatness, and is now sinking, each after each, to its decline. It may be, that reverence, and filial piety, and high honour, and spotless integrity, as national virtues, have bloomed and had their day, and are dying down to the root, never again to put forth fresh shoots or any further greenness of life. If this is so, we shall be glad at least to have witnessed to their former growth and endurance for six or seven centuries among the rural towns and remote country subdivisions and highland districts of France.

E. B.

The Revelations of General La Marmora.

A COMMON saying reminds us that if we were to inspect closely all that our food has to go through in the kitchen before it is presented to us at table, we should require a somewhat robust appetite to enable us to attack it with heartiness. The extraordinary and inexplicable fashion of the men of our time of laying bare to the public gaze the most secret manœuvres of diplomacy, gives us an occasion of applying the proverb to which we allude to the great political events of the century. The results may be dazzling and imposing—but what have been the means by which they have been produced? How much dirty work has gone on below stairs before the banquet has been served up? We fear that it is but too true, that diplomacy and statecraft in Europe have become thoroughly unprincipled. Perhaps there never has been a time when the atmosphere of diplomacy was propitious to the development of no flowers but those of the choicest virtue. Perhaps there has never been a time when integrity and veracity, perfect honesty of purpose, unselfish consideration of the laws of right and honour, dominated exclusively the words and acts of Courts in their dealings one with another. But we would fain hope for the common honour of human nature and for the sake of the welfare of European society, which must go to pieces unless some sort of honesty is to reign in the highest quarters, that there has not often and will not often be so much of cynical contempt for truth and right among those on whose word the lives of hundreds of thousands have depended, as seems to have prevailed in the central decades of the nineteenth century

—the period which embraced the second French Empire, the rise of the Italian Kingdom, the wars of 1859, 1866, and 1870, the period in which English fleets cooperated with Garibaldi in attacks on a kingdom with whose sovereign Her Majesty Queen Victoria professed peace and amity, in which a sovereign of France promised formally to oppose an invasion of the Pontifical territories which he had himself counselled, and in which a sovereign of Prussia gave his word of honour to an Emperor of Austria that he had not made a treaty with the enemies of the latter sovereign, which treaty had been signed by his order several weeks before.¹

Diplomacy, we suppose, like all other human occupations has many incidental temptations. It has a noble office—no secular office can be nobler—to fulfil in the interests of civilization, peace, and justice. It has been and is still the employment of many most honourable men. But the diplomacy of a century must take its colour and character very much from the character and colour of the men who are the prominent figures and actors of the epoch. The diplomacy of the first French Empire took its tone from the violence, the arrogance, the frequent meanness of Napoleon the First. The prominent men of that part of the nineteenth century of which we are speaking, at least the most successful of the prominent men, may be numbered as four—Palmerston, Napoleon the Third, Cavour, and Bismarck. These men may have inherited many not very pure traditions from those who went before them. But they may be said to have created

¹ It is fair to the present Prussian Emperor to state that this extraordinary equivocation (not to use a stronger word) is attributed to him at secondhand only. It is given on the authority of the late Emperor Napoleon, in a conversation with the Italian Minister at Paris (Comm. Nigra), who reports it to General La Marmora (*Un po' piu de luce*, p. 310). We learn, however, from a telegram of La Marmora himself (p. 305) that the French Ambassador of Florence communicated to him a telegram from Paris (June 12) in which the Duc de Grammont, then at Vienna, is said to have sent a despatch saying that the Queen of Prussia, writing to the Emperor of Austria, assured him that King William had given her his word—*lui avait donné sa parole*, that that was no real treaty between Prussia and Italy, and that if Italy attacked Austria, Prussia was not bound to follow her. It is well known that the Prussian Court was strongly averse to the war.

a school of their own, in which the scholars and subordinates may sometimes have learnt only too well to imitate the practices of their masters.

Count Bismarck is the real hero of the work which has occasioned these remarks—the book generally known as the “Revelations” of General La Marmora. It is a book the publication of which is probably looked upon as an unpardonable indiscretion in diplomatic circles. It is not easy to see how its author can again, on any future occasion, take office as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Italian Kingdom, and as such Minister, enter into amicable correspondence with Prince Bismarck. The effect of the book is very damaging, not only to the Prince, but to diplomacy in general, and it may be thought possible that even the most cynical of diplomatists may feel embarrassed at the thought that similar publications may take place at any future time as to the intrigues and equivocations in which he may be at present indulging. If nobody’s word is worth believing, and if everybody’s falsehoods are liable to exposure within seven or eight years time, diplomacy may as well be abandoned altogether—unless a new code of morality be set up for statesmen to act upon and be judged by. General La Marmora has laid things almost too bare. His book is not very light reading; perhaps that may be some comfort to the Prussian Chancellor. It has, however, certainly dealt him a severe blow at a very inconvenient time. We should not think that it contributed to enhance the amenities of the reception of King Victor Emmanuel at Berlin. The Italian Liberals, who are now inclined to lean on Bismarck as once they leant upon Napoleon the Third, are furious with their countryman. Their fury is a sign that damage is done to their idol. Another sign of the same import is the significant behaviour of that part of the English press which is most devoted to the Prince, and who would like nothing better than to see his method of dealing with the Church extended to all the countries of Europe, England, Scotland, and Ireland not excepted. The *Times* has noticed the book in an article studiously contrived to give an utterly inadequate account of its contents,

and to throw the reader off the scent altogether. The other Bismarckian organs have, as far as we know, maintained a discreet reserve on the whole subject. It is obviously not in the interest of Bismarckism in general that General La Marmora's book should become widely known in England.

The work is a large volume of between three hundred and four hundred pages. It contains an elaborate account of the diplomatic dealings of the Italian Government from September, 1864, to June, 1866, that is, to the moment of the declaration by Italy against Austria of the war, the chief events of which, as far as the former Power was concerned, were the disastrous defeats of Custozza and Lissa. During all this time General La Marmora was at the head of the Italian Cabinet. The chief interest of the book, however, is concentrated on the early months of 1866, during which the war was being prepared at Berlin and Florence, Prussia and Italy uniting themselves by a secret treaty—the reality of which was, as has been stated, solemnly denied on his word of honour by the Prussian King—to attack Austria simultaneously and to carry on the war *a l'outrance*. At the beginning of this year 1866 Austria and Prussia were quarrelling over the Elbe Duchies, and Count Bismarck was using every means in his power, *per fas et nefas*, to induce his reluctant sovereign to go to war with Austria. He cast his eyes on Italy as a possible ally, at least as a Power a Prussian alliance with which might be used to terrify Austria. Italy, nothing unwilling to gain Venetia through one alliance as she had gained Lombardy through another, was eager to join Prussia almost at any price. General Govone was sent by La Marmora to Berlin, with the ostensible object of inspecting the Prussian armies, but in fact to conclude a treaty. As every one knows, great efforts were made by neutral Powers to prevent war, and war would certainly have been prevented but for the determination of the Prussian Minister that war there should be. At one time Austria and Prussia, to Count Bismarck's intense disgust, came to an understanding for mutual "disarmament"—after having each solemnly protested that no

extraordinary armament had taken place. Just at that time, however, Italy, and the miserable folly of the Austrian Government, came to Count Bismarck's assistance. Some inoffensive movements of troops took place in Italy. If we are to believe General La Marmora, they were nothing but the return northwards of some regiments of cavalry which were no longer wanted in the Neapolitan provinces. At this Austria took offence and alarm, and began to raise her forces in Venetia to the war footing, issuing at the same time a threatening despatch. Italy, in return, "mobilized" her army, and the disarmament in Germany was prevented. Notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of England, and the proposal of a Congress by the Emperor Napoleon—a proposal rendered abortive by Austria, who was all the time secretly proposing to detach Italy from Prussia by the cession of Venetia, intending, as it appears, to compensate herself by the conquest of Silesia—war became inevitable.

It is well known now that there was no reason for war, except in the ambition of Bismarck and the cupidity of the Italians. But it would not seem at first sight that the series of complications which we have sketched in the last few sentences would necessarily involve any transactions the disclosure of which would be likely to affect the character of the chief agents. So it is, however. General La Marmora himself speaks strongly against certain proposals which were made to him—proposals to which, we are sure, no politician of the school of Cavour could possibly have objected on grounds of morality. In fact, some of the worst of these proposals came from his own subordinates, Comm. Nigra and General Govone. But it would be beyond our purpose to go into the details of all this collection of despatches and telegrams. It will be enough to confine our attention mainly to the chief figure in the picture so unconsciously drawn by General La Marmora—the figure of Count Bismarck.

The Count of 1866 is now Prince Bismarck, and having humbled first Austria and then France, he is now engaged in the last enterprize of successful statesmen maddened by pride—an attempt to humble the Church. It is, of

course, all for the sake of Germany. The revelations of La Marmora show us something of the devotion of Bismarck for Germany. Here is Comm. Nigra's account of his designs in 1866, as drawn, according to La Marmora, from frequent conversations with Count Goltz, the Prussian Ambassador at Paris—

The idea of Prussia would be, not to limit the results of the war to the annexation of the Elbe Duchies, but to establish a North Germany under the direction of Prussia. Prussia would also wish to have Bavaria as an ally, and overtures were made in this sense at Munich. If Bavaria entered into these views she would, in case the war was successful, enrich herself with the spoils of Austria, as, for example, the German Tyrol. In this way there would be constituted in South Germany a State sufficiently strong to hold a predominance of power to the detriment of Austria.

As you see, the idea of the Cabinet of Berlin would lead to nothing less than a radical change in the political constitution of Germany. Count Goltz came to Paris with this scheme, and with commission to communicate it to the Emperor, asking that France should adopt a friendly neutrality. But as the French Government had at various times declared that, if one of the German Powers were to aggrandize itself so as to change the balance in Europe, France would reserve herself the option of providing for her own interests, Count Goltz was sent to ask the Emperor what France in such a case would wish to have.

The Prussian Ambassador fulfilled his instructions, and asked the Emperor to make some definite proposals. But the Emperor did not make any precise demands. He only said that the map might be examined to see the difference between the present frontier of France and that which she had in 1814.

That is, he would take the Rhine provinces. In another part of the volume there is an account of a conversation between Count Bismarck and the Italian Minister at Berlin, on the subject of the supposed readiness of Austria to cede German territory to France as the price of her support against Prussia, from which Count Barral, the Minister in question, gathered that the Prussian Chancellor would not have hesitated to make the sacrifice. In fact, he admitted as much in a conversation with General Govone, though he said it would not be easy unless the aid of France was tendered in some critical emergency, and intimated that it would be more natural for the Emperor to satisfy himself with some territory, the name of which is omitted in the book before us, but which it is quite clear must have been Belgium. Most of us

probably remember the draft treaty between France and Prussia for the annexation of Belgium which was produced, in M. Benedetti's handwriting, with so much effect by Count Bismarck at the beginning of the last war. The statements made in General La Marmora's work confirm the idea that the sacrifice of Belgium to France, in compensation for the aggrandizement of Prussia, was originally suggested by Prince Bismarck himself. We find the same idea in the following conversation between Count Bismarck and General Govone, at a time when matters were far advanced, and there was still great danger (!) of peace. General Govone speaks—

I asked him if beyond the Rhine there was any part of the country where a popular vote in favour of annexation to France could in any way succeed. Count Bismarck answered, "No part: the French agents themselves, who went through the country to find out how it was disposed, all reported that no vote which was not absolutely fictitious could succeed. No one there loves the Government or the dynasty reigning in the territory, but all are and wish to remain Germans, so that nothing remains to indemnify France with but——" (Belgium).

I answered that this would be difficult in the highest degree; but that if it were not possible to make use of the popular desire, we might perhaps as an alternative set up some other principle, as for example, that of "natural frontiers." I added at once that I did not intend to allude to the whole left bank of the Rhine; but is there not some other geographical line that might do for France?

Count Bismarck said, "Yes, there might be the Moselle. I," he added, "am much less German than Prussian, and I should have no difficulty in signing the cession to France of all the country between the Rhine and the Moselle, the Palatinate, Oldenburg,² or part of the Prussian territory, &c. But the King . . . would have the gravest scruples, and would not decide upon this except at some supreme moment, when he was on the point of losing or gaining everything. Anyhow, in order to work on the mind of the King for an arrangement of any kind with France, it would be necessary to know the *minimum* of her claims. For if the question was as to the whole left bank of the Rhine, Mainz, Coblenz, Cologne, it would be more worth our while to come to an understanding with Austria, and renounce the Duchies and many things besides."

I said that he could make no other arrangement with Austria but a simple surrender. The question in controversy involved Prussia's most vital interests and her future, so that there could be no compromise.

"True," said Count Bismarck, "but German public opinion would absolve the King for such a surrender if it were justified by the resolution not to yield German territory to a foreign Power." Then he added that the King had not given up the hopes of peace; his last

² That is, a part belonging to Oldenburg.

step had been to entertain secret negotiations³ with Austria for an engagement, and this without the knowledge of him, Count Bismarck. "Fortunately," he said, "these negotiations were destined to fail, and thus the King would be better convinced that it was impossible to come to a reasonable understanding with Austria. Moreover, independently of all action on my part, — is at this moment at Dresden to treat for peace."

There is much more in the same despatch to show how unwilling the King of Prussia was to go to war. Count Bismarck kept on urging the Italians to take the first step—though, as we shall see presently, Prussia in that case would not have felt bound to help them—in order that the conflagration might be kindled anyhow. He hoped that in that case Prussia would be drawn in. But the point of the conversation, as to our present purpose, is that Count Bismarck was ready to sacrifice German territory in order to aggrandize Prussia.

We find in another page (82) an account given by General Govone to his chief at Florence of the views of Count Bismarck as to the war with Austria.

Going back to the date of the Convention of Olmutz, he said that it would be desirable for him that there should now be in Germany a state of things as complicated as that of 1850, since the character of the present King was a security to him that war would be the way in which the difficulty would be solved, whereas at that time it came to nothing in the aforementioned Convention of Olmutz. His intention now was to bring Germany back again to a state of confusion like that which then existed, in order to obtain the end which he had set before himself, which he confessed openly to be the satisfaction of the ambition of Prussia—an ambition which extended to domination in the north of Germany, but not beyond. As to making war break out on the single question of the Elbe Duchies, that, he said, would be very easy, but a war of that sort and magnitude on so small a question would shock the opinion of Europe. Europe, however, would, on the other hand, consider quite legitimate a war the object of which was a more full and national solution of the German question.

Here the President of the Council entered into many detailed explanations. His personal opinion, he said, always was that Austria was to be considered as the natural enemy of Prussia; that hence he had seen for a long time with much pleasure the attitude and the successes of the House of Savoy. But this opinion of his was singular in Prussia. At one time, he added, a war with Austria and an alliance with France were considered as sacrilegious. Italy, in the general opinion, was personified in Garibaldi, and even in Mazzini.

³ Was it in the course of these negotiations that King William gave his pledge about Italy? It is clear that he at least did not consider the treaty as binding on him in the sense in which the Italians took it.

He had succeeded in modifying this way of thinking. He had even at last proposed to King William an experiment—that of inviting Austria to take part in the war against Denmark, and to see if the alliance of Austria and Prussia could thus be made fast. The experiment had entirely failed, or rather had completely succeeded in accordance with his own previsions, for the natural rivalry of Austria with Prussia, and her animosity against the latter, had been made more manifest than ever, and the King and many others had been quite cured about the alliance between the two. King William had now abandoned his too strictly legitimist scruples, and he himself was now able to lead the King into his own views.

Count Bismarck then put into form his own ideas, as follows. In a short time—three or four months, for example—he would again place on the *tapis* the question of reform in Germany, seasoned with a German Parliament. By means of this proposal and the Parliament he would produce a state of trouble which would soon put Prussia in hostility to Austria. Prussia would then decide for war, a war which Europe could not oppose, as the question at stake would be great and national.

The great and national interests which were thus to appear so dear to the Prussian Government were thus avowedly mere pretexts to gain an opportunity of satisfying the ambition of Prussia herself, or rather, of Count Bismarck. As we find further on in this history, when the time came to clinch the question of war, the Prussian Minister had all the difficulty in the world to move the King or the country in the direction which he wished them to follow, at the cost of streams of German blood and the sacrifice of thousands of lives. The revelations made by the telegrams from Berlin to Florence on this point would be extremely amusing if they did not show so much inhuman indifference as to the terrible cost of war. On April 1, 1866, Count Barral telegraphs to General La Marmora—

The Minister of Austria wrote an official account yesterday to Count Bismarck giving him the assurance that Austria had no aggressive intention, and that she hoped to receive the same assurance on the part of Prussia.

M. de Bismarck is more and more embarrassed to find a *casus belli*.

Again, a week later—

M. de Bismarck told me yesterday with extreme irritation that all the body of Prussian diplomatists is at work against his warlike projects.

At London the Prussian Minister has let himself be completely ruled by the party of——.

He has gone so far as to say in one of his late despatches that if Italy allies herself to Prussia she will be disavowed by the Emperor Napoleon.

At Paris, Count Goltz makes such efforts, and insists so much upon peace, that —

From Florence Count d'Usedom writes that quite lately again the King's Government has made overtures to Austria (which has rejected them), in order to obtain the cession of Venetia.

He has also written that Prince Napoleon, in his late journey, used the Emperor's name in dissuading an alliance with Prussia.

There are many similar passages, but we may leave them unquoted.

Count Bismarck, however, might have been as careless as he chose of the interests of his own country without provoking the criticism of General La Marmora. It is on account of his dealings with Italy and the Italian Government that the Prussian Chancellor is now exposed to whatever annoyance may be felt by a man of his temper and character at the consciousness that the world in general, so far beneath his feet, is aware of his utter disregard for the scruples of conscience which might bind ordinary mortals. We must confess that, although General La Marmora appears to be far more straightforward and simple than most of the men who have of late filled his high position, we cannot but feel that, if Italy was treated in a cavalier and contemptuous manner by Prussia at the very time when that latter Power was using her for her own purposes, Italy only got what she was fully entitled to. She is a *parvenue* among nations, and can only take her place at the council-board of Europe on sufferance, and with very poor credentials of her respectability. Victor Emmanuel has in his veins the blood of some of the oldest reigning families in Europe, but it is not as King of Sardinia that he now *poses* before the astonished world, but as King of Italy, and in that last-named character he reminds us irresistibly of our old friend Christopher Sly. Moreover, the policy and method of action which had put the Government of Victor Emmanuel in the position which it occupied in Europe in 1866, which enabled it with any pretence to consideration to think of being a serviceable ally of Prussia in her struggle with Austria, had been so utterly nefarious and unprincipled, that Count Bismarck

can hardly be blamed by any Italian statesmen for having dealt with them in a manner so thoroughly Piedmontese. It is said that the Government of Count Cavour paid some of the large bribes, by means of which it induced certain Neapolitan generals to betray their sovereign, in false notes. It was a shameful trick, no doubt, but, in a certain rough sense, it served the miserable traitors right. Count Bismarck must have known the sort of people he was dealing with, at least in general, and La Marmora is himself obliged to protest against the unhandsome tricks proposed to him by some of his own subordinates, more Piedmontese in this respect than himself. Still, it must be allowed that the account given by La Marmora of the proceedings of Prussia in the matter of the alliance with Italy makes us feel that it would not be comfortable to have such people to deal with in the intercourse of ordinary life.

The great object of the Italians was, of course, to obtain the alliance of Prussia in the coming war against Austria, in order so to obtain Venetia. The object of Count Bismarck was to obtain the alliance of Italy in case of war, and even to use the promised assistance of Italy as an argument to induce his own very reluctant sovereign to entertain the idea of a war with Austria. Count Bismarck confessed to the Italian envoys that the King, the Court, the people, and even the army were all against his designs in this respect. At all events, it was impossible to obtain the King's consent unless he could expect not to go into the war alone. Italy, therefore, must be taken into partnership. But Italy was just a little too ready and too eager. The Italian envoy might spoil all with King William by declaring that his Government wanted war at once. What was wanted was, that Italy should be ready to follow Prussia, but that Prussia should not be bound to follow Italy. Prussia was to be secured against the danger of making war without an ally, but Italy was not to be allowed to reckon on Prussia if she made war first. This, putting aside the character of the Italian Kingdom as a sort of piratical institution, was quite unfair, and La Marmora very justly, from his

own point of view, objected to it. It would take us far too long to go through the whole course of the negotiations; but, in fact, the Italian diplomatists were so far outwitted that they signed a treaty no clause of which bound Prussia to attack Austria if Italy attacked the latter, whereas Italy was certainly bound to follow Prussia in attacking Austria. The trick was palmed off by means of an illusory title to the treaty, which in all the telegrams and despatches addressed to the Italian Premier by his agents was spoken of as a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive. When the treaty was produced for signature at Berlin, it was found that the words "treaty of alliance and friendship" had been substituted for the others. The trick reminds us of the attempt made by Napoleon the First to get Cardinal Consalvi to sign a Concordat different from that which had been agreed upon, by an "unostentatious" change introduced after all had been agreed upon. In this case it was probably Count Bismarck's knowledge of his own sovereign's entire unwillingness to fetter his own liberty of action by any positive engagements with Italy, that made him attempt the deception. The Italian diplomatists, though they seem to have been very like children in the hands of the Count, who had clearly no great opinion of their discernment, were alert enough to discover the change in the title of the treaty which they had come to sign, and bold enough to insist on the restoration of the omitted words. Even so, however, they were outwitted. The title of the treaty could not add anything to the direct stipulations of the clauses, and these clauses contained no words which bound Prussia to follow Italy into war as Italy was bound to follow Prussia. A few weeks after the signature of the treaty, the Italians found this out. General Govone informed Count Bismarck that Italy and Austria would be ready to fight in a month's time, and that then the war could be begun in Italy: would Prussia be ready with her armaments, and would she declare war against Austria if Austria declared war against Italy? The Count replied coolly that King William did not understand the treaty in that sense, and that he did not consider the

obligation to be reciprocal according to the literal sense of the articles. It certainly was not reciprocal. The Italians were fooled. Count Bismarck would, no doubt, have been glad enough to secure their alliance against Austria almost at any price, and would never have hesitated a moment to declare war with the latter Power on any pretext, so long as Prussia was not to enter on the war without allies, and without danger from France or Russia. But he had a master to deal with who was too honest, too cordially averse to a fratricidal war between the two great German Powers, to be led into putting the question of peace or war with Austria into the hands of a set of conspirators at Florence. When Count Bismarck, after the demands of General Govone mentioned a few sentences ago, urged the King to make some declaration which would satisfy the Italians, King William answered in effect that he would declare war against Austria if she attacked Italy, but that he would not go to war with Austria if Italy attacked her first.

It turned out after this secret treaty had been signed, that Austria, probably divining, as all the world might very well have divined, the true import of the presence of General Govone at Berlin, suddenly adopted the policy of selling Venetia to Italy through the intervention of the Emperor Napoleon, with the view of being allowed to indemnify herself in Germany at the cost of Prussia. There can be little doubt that the Austrian statesmen thought of the conquest of Silesia as the indemnification in question. Italy would thus have gained her end as to Venetia without bloodshed, though La Marmora appears to have feared the ultimate results of the aggrandizement of Austria in Europe, which must have followed if Prussia had been humbled and weakened. General La Marmora make a great merit of the faithfulness with which, notwithstanding the trick which had been played upon them, the Italian Government adhered to their engagements with Prussia in face of the tempting offer made to them through the Emperor Napoleon. It is a refreshing sight to see any signs of good faith in the conduct of Italian policy, and no one can read General La Marmora's book without

recognizing in him personally an amount of integrity which has certainly not often been found among the successors of Count Cavour. But, in fact, it suited Italy, or rather Italian Ministers, for the sufferings of the unfortunate people of Italy, as of the unfortunate people of Germany, seem to go for very little in decisions of this kind—it suited Italian Ministers, for many reasons, to win Venetia if possible rather by the sword than by the purse. Moreover, though perhaps an Italian Bismarck would not have hesitated to throw Prussia overboard at once, and might even have revelled in the glorious want of faith which such a proceeding would have involved, so heroic a piece of perfidy was too much for the weak stomach of General La Marmora. He had nothing to do but to abide by his secret engagement, and events very soon took away his chance of accepting the Austrian proposal.

Italy, however, it seems, has other complaints against Count Bismarck and the Prussian Government. It is quite clear that they had no higher opinion of Italian generals than of Italian statesmen. This need not surprize any one who considers the very poor show that Italy, after all, made in the war of 1866, when she fought under circumstances of advantage which are hardly likely to recur. Indeed, we find from unexceptionable evidence that up to the present day the conviction prevails in Germany that the Italians are worth very little in the balance of Europe. We find so lately as in the *Times* of October 10, 1873, a letter from an accredited correspondent, under the head of "Italy, Austria, and Germany." The writer speaks of the fear which many Germans now feel, that when the present Cesarewitch succeeds to the Emperor Alexander of Russia, Germany may have to sustain a combined attack from France and Russia, the latter at the head of the Slave nations—the one "national unity" which has yet to be organized in Europe. He continues—

Were they called upon to withstand a simultaneous attack both on their western and eastern frontier, they are aware of the necessity they would be in of relying on Austrian support, or at least neutrality, nor would they disdain even the tiny help which Italy the mouse

could lend to Prussia the lion. I have hardly met a Prussian or Austrian who did not entertain the meanest opinion of Italy as a military and naval power. With the single exception of the *bersaglieri*, they think there is no solidity in Italian troops. Their infantry is half starved and rickety, their cavalry is badly mounted, their artillery untrained and insufficient, and there is hopeless disorganization in every department of the service. "Were a war to spring up, even with France in her exhausted condition," these Germans say, "the French would hardly be at the trouble of forcing the passes of the Alps. They would merely land forty or fifty thousand of their soldiers on the southern coast, where they would find in the priests, in the brigands, and in the whole besotted population of the Two Sicilies, Bourbonist and Republican, auxiliaries enough to renew the exploits of Fra Diavolo and Cardinal Ruffo, and to march with them to the deliverance of the Vatican. The Italian Kingdom is a new edifice, everywhere undermined by clerical hostility. It lacks inward solidity and cohesion, and it could not stand the slightest outward onset for three days."

If such is the opinion of German writers on the Italian Kingdom at the present day, when it has had seven years of peace to consolidate and strengthen itself, we can hardly be surprized that in 1866 the Prussian chiefs should have had but little confidence in the worth of the Italian armies. It seems to have been thought at Berlin that the Italians could only be made useful if they were carefully handled under Prussian guidance. General La Marmora tells us that in the course of the month before the war of 1866 broke out, Count Usedom presented himself one day at the office of the Ministry at Florence with a certain Signor Bernhardi. This gentleman spread out a large map of Bohemia, and explained—it appears without being asked—to General La Marmora the intended campaign, pointing out where the several Prussian corps were to pass the frontier, in order to concentrate on Pardubitz. Then, to the General's great surprize, he discovered that Signor Bernhardi expected to be told what the plan of the Italian campaign was to be. La Marmora confined himself to finding out the point at which it was thought well that the Italian army should try to meet the German forces. It appears that soon after this Count Bismarck adopted a plan according to which the Italian troops were to leave the Quadrilateral alone, and attack Austria in her possessions at the head of the Adriatic. This was in order to support an intended insurrection in Hungary.

Klapka and Kossuth had already been communicated with, and proposals made for the raising of three millions of francs on the part of Prussia and Italy to feed the rapacious cravings of the pretended patriots. It was soon clear that Italy was not to have the management of her own forces, if Count Bismarck could prevent it. "It appeared to him," says La Marmora, "impossible that I should show myself indisposed to obey," and he immediately vented his ill humour to Count Barral (the Italian Minister at Berlin), who telegraphed to his chief at Florence the words of his conversation. "I must tell you," said Count Bismarck, "that I regret to learn that it appears to be desired by you to begin by attacking the Quadrilateral, instead of transporting yourselves to the head of the Adriatic, and obliging Austria to accept battle in the open country. That is a thought which makes me uneasy."⁴ But there was worse to come for General La Marmora. Two or three days before the declaration of war, while he was at Cremona organizing the Italian army, he received a long note from Count Usedom, the Prussian Minister at Florence, which almost in so many words dictated to him the adoption of what was in substance the plan of campaign suggested by the Hungarian exiles. The Quadrilateral was to be masked and left aside, and the Italian army was to march on Vienna. Large sums of money were to be spent in revolutionizing Hungary—and, in fact, the war was to be carried on on what may be called the most Garibaldian principles, while the Italian forces were to risk themselves in a long march on Vienna, leaving the Austrians behind them in possession of the famous fortresses of Venetia. Count Usedom said with perfect coolness—

Supposing for a moment the contrary possibility, and considering the position of Prussia in particular, the cooperation of Italy would then have done her more harm than the absolute neutrality of that

⁴ Count Barral concludes this curious telegram by saying, "Although Count Bismarck appears to be satisfied as to the imminence of the struggle, he did not seem so sure of the result as usual. 'The die is cast,' he said to me as I left him. 'Let us have good confidence, but let us not forget that God Almighty is capricious'" (p. 332). The words express the character of the man.

Power. Her neutrality would at least have kept in the Quadrilateral, and thus paralyzed, to the benefit of Prussia, an entire Austrian army; but the cooperation of Italy, though victorious, yet if it be misguided and arrested in its full career, would drive the same army back upon Prussia, which would then have fewer chances in her favour with than without the alliance of Italy."⁵

And then, as a final and worst insult, as it seems to have been felt by La Marmora, for he gives it as the reason why he must publish these hitherto secret despatches, when the Prussian official account of the campaign came to be published, years after the Italians had done their little best at Custozza, the Prussian writer made a severe remark on the subsequent inaction of the defeated army.

It was difficult to calculate that the war would have been conducted in Italy in such a manner as to allow Austria to dispose freely of the troops of her army of the Mincio, and send them to the north of the Danube.⁶

On the whole, the revelations of the Italian general are by no means reassuring to those good people in Europe who love peace and quiet, and desire that Governments should act, in their internal and external policy alike, on principles of honesty and justice. We can find no very upright character among all the distinguished names which meet us in the pages before us, and, as we have already remarked, the impression which they leave on us as to the humanity of modern civilization, in the lofty sphere of statecraft, is very sad. Soldiers are to be moved about, armies to be mobilized, sums of money to be raised, one State is to be compensated at the expense of another, millions are to be spent in raising revolutions, proposals of arrangement are to be made without sincerity, bad faith is to be practised at the very time when those who practise it are making solemn compacts of unity. The interests of the populations over whom God has given these Ministers and sovereigns a solemn charge for His own honour, and for the benefit of the people themselves, are never thought of. Bismarck hates Austria, and he makes himself necessary to his King by his internal policy, in order that he may be able to lead him on to a terrible war against that Power.

⁵ P. 347.

⁶ P. 350.

If the Emperor Napoleon's statement be true, King William is so far led on as to pledge his honour to a falsehood. German freedom and German unity are made watchwords in the mouths of Prussian statesmen; but it is only in order to produce a complication and confusion which may set Prussia and Austria by the ears. The very man who chooses a national cry for his long-desired war, because Europe cannot object to a war made under such a pretext, avows himself in private "more Prussian than German," and is ready to sacrifice German territory rather than lose the support of the Emperor Napoleon, whom, however, he calmly suggests, had much better help himself to Belgium, and not to the Rhine provinces. Austria, whom we might wish to find in the right, blunders on from one fatuity to another, and looks with greedy eyes on Silesia as a compensation for her sacrifice of Venetia, at the very time that she is avowing her desire for peace, and proposing mutual disarmament. The Emperor Napoleon suggests to the Italians, when they are well in for the fight, that they had perhaps better not make war too vigorously, and this suggestion is received by Comm. Nigra at Paris as opening to him "a vast horizon"—that horizon including, of course, the abandonment of Prussia by Italy during the war, contrary to the express stipulations of the treaty, as the condition of separate concessions made by the latter to Austria. Altogether, we feel as if Diogenes would have had to trim his lantern very well in order to find the object of his desire among all these great men, to whose manipulations the fortunes of Europe are committed in the age in which we live.

"These be thy gods, O Israel!" The morality of the chief actors in the bloody drama of 1866 was neither much worse, nor much better, than that of most of the poor mortals into whose hands the management of the affairs of Christian nations has fallen. The standard had no doubt been lowered by the "children of the revolution," who had brought so much misery on Italy since the inauguration of the second French republic, and we find that Prussia, which in 1861 scouted Italy on account of

the Garibaldian policy which had led to so many successful robberies, urging on the same Italy, in 1866, the employment of the same detestable tools to ruin the house of Habsburg. England, we are happy to say, appears in this volume as the sincere advocate of peace; but should some future La Marmora give us a full and truthful account of the action of England in the whole solution of the Italian question, we fear we should find that the servants of Queen Victoria have before now protected piracy and rebellion under what Mr. Disraeli calls "the banner of St. George," and that English diplomatists have sometimes vied with the tools of Cavour in intriguing against the Governments to whom they were accredited as friendly ambassadors—

Seditione, dolo, scelere atque libidine et ira,
Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra.

It may be too much to say that the world is governed by falsehoods; it certainly is not governed by truth. All the rulers of mankind are not thieves and liars, but veracity and a careful respect for the rights and property of others, have had singularly little influence in the great European arrangements of the nineteenth century.

Must we regret or rejoice at disclosures such as these? We cannot altogether regret them, for they cannot but tend to enlighten public opinion, and, whatever the potentates of the world may say in the cynicism of their success, public opinion in the long run resents insults to its sense of right, and even the most triumphant rascality finds out sooner or later that honesty is the best policy. Just at present there is a confederacy, as it would seem, against the Church on the part of the three Powers who were divided, two against one, in the war of 1866. It is feared that the Church may once more find defenders on European thrones, and her enemies must of necessity close their ranks—"the tabernacles of the Edomites and the Ismaelites, Moab and the Agarenes, Gebal, Ammon and Amalek, the Philistines, and the inhabitants of Tyre." Amid the compliments of the new alliance, the thought must be in the breast of each, how little the words of

the other two can be depended on. So far, these revelations weaken the cause of evil, and tend to point public indignation at certain heads which richly deserve it. Prince Bismarck will be weaker in his persecution on account of the duplicity of Count Bismarck in 1866. His professions of devotion to the necessities of the national Empire will deceive fewer people in consequence of the avowed narrowness of his ambition when he first began to "make" Germany. But on other grounds such publications as that of General La Marmora must be considered as calamities, at least as the signs of calamity, because they are the signs of corruption, and so the presages of dissolution. When these things are possible, society, and especially the dominant few, must be almost infinitely immoral, and the immorality of society and of its rulers means the destruction and misery of mankind.

The Insane Catholic Poor.

WE have long been aware that many of our fellow Catholics are confined in the public asylums of this country, with very inadequate means for their spiritual assistance; but we must confess we are greatly indebted to Lord Robert Montagu for enabling us to measure the extent of the evil. The return which he obtained in the last Session of Parliament shows the number of Catholic lunatics in the public asylums of England, Wales, and Ireland on the 1st of June last, and the provisions for securing them the ministrations of religion.

To deal only with England and Wales, we find that there were, at the date of the return, two thousand seven hundred and ninety-four Catholics in our public asylums; so that, including our share of those whose religion is unknown, we may assume that, in round numbers, some three thousand of the pauper inmates of asylums are our brethren or sisters in the faith.

It is more difficult to give any general idea of the amount of religious consolation available for these poor victims of the most terrible disease which can afflict humanity; for there is no rule laid down for the guidance of asylum superintendents in this respect, and no uniformity of practice. In the best cases, the "priest celebrates mass every Sunday morning, and visits at other times. Attends funerals. Receives £25 every Christmas."¹ Chaplain "attends once a fortnight, and when urgently required. Salary, £50 and travelling expenses."² "Priest attends once a week, and holds

¹ Surrey county asylum, Brookwood.

² Broadmoor State criminal lunatic asylum.

service in a room ; travelling expenses paid. A party of patients go to Roman Catholic church once a week."³ But these are rare exceptions, the majority of the reporters confine themselves to stating that the priest visits occasionally, and when sent for by the patients ; and in three instances, two in the county of Suffolk, we are told that there are "no special arrangements," and no facilities for Roman Catholics or Dissenters to receive the ministrations of their religion. The provisions for ascertaining the religion of the patient seem to be equally defective ; thus, in more than one-third of the asylums there would appear to be no record of it whatever ; in many other instances it is entered in the "case book," or some other register not generally accessible ; a separate creed register being only kept in about another third.

Such is the state of things of which we have to complain, and which we will do Englishmen the justice to believe they would be inclined to redress, if feasible remedies were suggested. Having had some personal knowledge of the present condition of the poor in our asylums, and having carefully considered the means by which this can be improved, the present writer's object is to point out what he believes to be the best course Catholics can take on this important question.

And first, there are several asylums which are in a different category from the rest, and to which the remarks we shall afterwards make do not apply ; these are the State criminal asylum at Broadmoor, and those provided for lunatic soldiers and sailors. Fortunately, they are governed directly by public departments of State, and are therefore more liberally administered in regard to Catholics than most of the asylums which depend on county or borough justices, who are often men of small education, of strong religious prejudices, and slightly acquainted with the needs of the insane. It can fairly be asked, with regard to these establishments, that mass should be said, if possible, once a week, and that the chaplain should have free access, at all reasonable times, to such of the patients as can profit by his ministry.

³ West Riding county asylum.

As to the other public asylums of this country, we shall presently point out what we believe would be the most satisfactory way of dealing with the religious difficulty, but, since this could only be applied to a part of the Catholic patients in them, and would require time for its execution, we would propose that the following steps should be taken as soon as possible. The Catholic Union, or individual Catholics of position, should represent to the Commissioners in Lunacy, or directly to the Lord Chancellor, that the present condition of our Catholic poor in public asylums is highly unsatisfactory, and further spiritual helps would probably prove most beneficial to them. The particular points which might be suggested to the Commissioners as being desirable are—

1. That a creed register should be kept in every public asylum, and should be open to the inspection of such Catholic priests (as well as Dissenting ministers) as have the spiritual care of the inmates of the asylum.

2. That the priest should see every patient on the occasion of his visits (which should be frequently and regularly paid), unless he himself considered it unnecessary, or the medical superintendent stated that any patients were too excited to be seen.

3. That the priest should always be sent for to visit any patient who may be seriously ill.⁴

4. That, where there is a sufficient number of patients, a room should be set aside for a priest's use, in which he can say mass.

5. That, where there is no service held within the asylum, such patients as are well enough should be sent at stated times to the nearest Catholic church.

We have had sufficient experience of the perfect fairness of the Lunacy Commissioners in religious matters, and of their earnest desire to promote the welfare of those under their care, to convince us that they would favourably receive such representations and would do their best towards establishing some such rules as we

⁴ This rule is inserted, because—monstrous as it may seem to those who are acquainted with lunatics—the usual course appears to be, only to send for the priest when the patient himself desires it. In the Cumberland and Westmoreland asylum, the notice must be given in writing!

have just sketched. Unfortunately they can only recommend in such matters, and have no legal means of enforcing their recommendations; but their influence is very great, and by noticing the treatment of Catholics in their Reports, they would undoubtedly effect a considerable improvement. If we can secure for our insane poor due registration on their entering an asylum, the frequent visits of a priest, and opportunities of hearing mass and receiving the sacraments whenever they are able to do so, we shall have put them in a far better condition than at present; but those who know anything of asylum management will agree with the writer that we shall not have done all that we can for them. However frequently they may be visited by their chaplain, and however liberal the superintendents of asylums may be—and we are glad to believe that most of them would readily assent to what we have proposed—Catholic patients will still be at a disadvantage when compared with the Protestant inmates of an asylum. A public hospital for the insane resembles a large public school more than any other institution; and, as in a school, we cannot be satisfied with the spiritual condition of such Catholics as have indeed regular opportunities of seeing a priest and practising their religion, but are at all other times subject to Protestant discipline and influence. We know how it would be with boys: those who would continue in such an atmosphere to be really religious would be a very small minority, and only such as were already good; but the timid, the waverers, and the vicious, the very lads who most need supernatural help, would fall away, not into Protestantism, but into mere indifference.

So it is with the insane, who are very like children in many ways: those who are most ready to see the priest on his visit would least harmfully do for a time without religion; while the melancholic patient may be deprived, through his timidity, of what would be his greatest help and consolation, and one who has lost his reason by drunkenness or evil living would reject the precious opportunity when time for thought, and asylum discipline, would assist the first steps of true repentance.

Again, authorities on insanity are generally agreed (as Griesinger among Protestants, and Morel among Catholics) that the spiritual influence of a chaplain is not without effect upon insanity, but that it is a means most powerful for good or harm, according as it is guided by experience or ignorance of the insane; the most striking illustrations of this being the melancholy instances—not very uncommon—where insanity has been produced and fostered by that *carnificina conscientiarum*—the “direction” of self-taught Anglican clergymen. But all who have any knowledge of the insane are the first to recognize how highly special and difficult a matter it is to deal with them, and at the price of how many mistakes their experience has been gained; so that, from this point of view also, it is highly desirable, for the sake of the cure, that Catholic patients should be under the care of experienced chaplains, who may cooperate actively in their “moral treatment”—and such men can only be found amongst those who have given themselves up to the care of these cases.

When we add to these reasons the injury to discipline which must result from religious differences (especially when to difference in religion is usually added difference in nationality), and which must be as injurious to English Protestants as to Irish Catholics, it is reasonable to say that we have a very strong case for the separation of Catholic lunatics from Protestants, and their being placed, when possible, in asylums under Catholic government.

Happily, this might to a great extent be accomplished without much difficulty. Thus, in the county of Lancaster there are four asylums, containing in all eight hundred and twenty-one Catholic patients; there could surely be no insuperable reason why these (or as many as are in a state to profit by religious assistance) should not be drafted into one asylum, say that at Rainhill, which contains six hundred and sixty-seven patients,⁵ or into the smaller one at Whittingham, which might be extended

⁵ Two hundred and seventy-eight of these are Catholics. There is a Church of England chaplain, who has a salary of £300 a year and house; a priest performs the service fortnightly and visits the sick patients. We are not told that he receives any remuneration.

to receive them. This is proposed as a cheaper, and therefore more acceptable, plan than building a new asylum in a county already overburdened; it would only be necessary to urge that the staff should be Catholic, and a resident chaplain be appointed. In Cheshire, again, the same thing might be done, and a scandalous injustice be remedied. There are one hundred and fifty-one Catholic patients in the two establishments in that county; of these one hundred and ten are in the Chester asylum, where we are told that no facilities or arrangements exist for the ministrations of their religion.⁶ Surely these might be exchanged into the Parkside asylum in the same county, where there are forty more Catholic patients, and where others might be sent in future.

The same thing might probably be done without much difficulty in several other counties. Thus, in Middlesex there are one hundred and thirty-four men and two hundred and seventy-one women who are entered as Catholics at Colney Hatch and Hanwell. It would be right to urge that in any fresh plan suggested for the relief of these gigantic and unwieldy establishments, the claims of the Catholics to be collected into a separate asylum ought to be considered. It is much to be feared that the well known bigotry of many of the governing justices, and the natural disinclination to disturb existing arrangements and incur increased expenditure, may long prevent our fair and just claims being heard; possibly we may have to wait until the changes inevitable in the local government of the counties are made, when it will be the fault of the Catholic ratepayers if they do not make themselves heard. There will, however, always be many counties where no such separation of Catholics from Protestants will be possible, owing to the few Catholic lunatics in their asylums;⁷ can we Catholics do nothing to provide for our afflicted brethren in these asylums the blessings which we ourselves so highly prize.

⁶ The Nonconformists are equally destitute of religious assistance in this singular establishment, while the members of the Church of England (who are actually in a minority) have a highly paid chaplain to attend them.

⁷ As, for instance, Sussex has eight Catholic patients only, Dorset has four, and Buckingham only one.

It is important to remark that the law as it stands offers some important assistance to us in this good work. The county authorities are authorized to board out patients at a sum arranged between them and the proprietors of any private asylum or lunatic hospital; and some years since many counties provided in this way for their lunatics, but the building large county asylums has rendered it more uncommon. We believe that if any Catholic authority, being provided with the necessary buildings, grounds, and staff, were to propose to receive Catholic pauper lunatics on these terms, they would be gladly accepted, especially by the neighbouring counties.

Such a work demands a unity of government, and, at the same time, an abundance of suitable *matériel* and *personnel*, which can only be found amongst us in our religious communities. We know that it is the purpose of the founders of the only community in England which devotes itself to the care of the insane to expand its work in this direction as soon as other still more pressing wants are supplied. It is to be hoped that others may be induced to follow their example, and so to provide, in the only thoroughly satisfactory way, for our poor insane Catholics.

In the month of February, 1409, Fray Juan Joré, while going to preach his sermon in a church at Valencia, saw a poor madman being ill-treated in the streets, and was thus led to recommend this form of charity so earnestly to his hearers that one of them, named Lorenzo Salom, founded at his own expense the hospital of "our Lady of the Innocents," and opened it in the following year. This was the origin of the first asylum founded in Spain, and apparently in Europe (Granada was not founded by St. John of God until the end of the century, and Sta. Maria della Pietà in Rome not until the next century had begun). We are the inheritors of that faith and charity of Christ which urged men, four centuries before the reforms of Pinel and Conolly, to give shelter, and, if possible, relief, to the most fearful affliction with which humanity can be visited; and is this not good ground for hope that we may again find some among us to labour in the same cause, and with a like success? J. R. G.

Consecrated.

AMONG the far grey mountains,
There lies a lonely grave;
In rain and sunshine ever,
Unkept the grasses wave.

'Twas there the shepherds buried
The little shepherd lad,
With rude hands fond and tender,
With voices hush'd and sad.

No sound was heard of organ,
No note of funeral psalm,
But only sobs of brother hearts
To bless the mountain calm.

No priestly voice has hallowed
The shepherd's place of rest;
No priestly hands have blessed it,
And yet—it has been blessed.

For there the little shepherd's flock
Bleats thankfully to God;
And grateful songs the sweet birds sing
Above the grassy sod.

F. E. W.

The Canonization of St. John Nepomucene.

I.

It is not improbable that many a simple mind has been from time to time puzzled over the formidable array of technical restrictions and requirements which the prudence of the Church has in later times enacted in the matter of the beatification and canonization of the saints and servants of God. It would seem natural that, when once the common fame of sanctity in the case of these heroes of the Church had been confirmed by undoubted miracles—without which, indeed, it would be unlikely that the devotion of the faithful would fasten upon them—the Church might step in, and without further ado solemnly confer her highest honours and propose her sanctified children to public veneration. So, no doubt, it was in the earliest times—and even late in the middle ages, the formalities and restrictions required in such matters were comparatively simple. St. Francis, St. Antony of Padua, St. Elisabeth of Hungary, not to name a multitude of others, are known to have been canonized almost at once. But the growth of heresies, the necessity of providing against the possible cases of overhaste, as well as that of meeting the just requirements of criticism—and perhaps even the very multitude of claims to veneration which presented themselves—both explain and justify the apparently rigid system which has been adopted in later times, and particularly since the middle of the first half of the seventeenth century, when Urban the Eighth made the celebrated decrees which have ever since remained the law of the Church in such matters. There can be no doubt that the immediate operation of those decrees was to check the onward progress of many causes of

beatification, to delay, if not to extinguish many others, and to make the whole process considerably more difficult than before. At the same time these regulations have made the process more certain than ever. They have removed many possibilities of mistake, and given a greater critical authority to conclusions when once attained.

The case of which we are about to speak, that of the great Bohemian saint commonly known as St. John of Nepomuk, the martyr of the confessional, is one of those as to which it is a great advantage to have the processes of canonization to fall back upon. The difficulties which modern criticism has raised against the received story of St. John have been childishly exaggerated, and the unreasonableness of some writers on the subject is so great and patent, that we feel naturally inclined to dismiss the whole question with indignant contempt. When people can go so far as to write gravely that the martyr himself, his history, and the *cultus* paid to him from time immemorial, are all the inventions of those ubiquitous conspirators, the members of the Society of Jesus—a Society which did not come into existence until after St. John Nepomucene had been publicly venerated at Prague for a century and a half—we are indeed disposed to think that, with such people at least, reasoning, argument, and historical evidences are altogether out of place. The silliness of such men deprives them of all claims on our attention, even when, as in the case before us, they allege, by the side of the nonsense which they have invented, real or at least really apparent difficulties which have been discovered by cooler heads than theirs. These difficulties, however, such as they are, deserve careful consideration on their own account, and we may enter on such consideration without the slightest fear that it can be anything but a service to God and to the Church to sift historical facts candidly and to give its full weight to new or neglected evidence.

It is fortunate that we possess a fair amount of information as to the process of canonization of St. John Nepomucene from the pen of no less an authority than the extremely learned Benedict the Fourteenth. At the time of the process he himself occupied the important

post of "Promoter of the Faith," and it was his duty to present in their strongest form all the objections which could fairly be raised against the cause. Several important points turned up in the course of the discussion, and thus it is that the case is frequently referred to in the famous work on the *Beatification and Canonization of the Saints* of Benedict himself—a fact of which a venturesome writer in the *Saturday Review* (August 9), who speaks of Benedict as having "exposed the imposition," is, unfortunately for himself, quite ignorant. The process itself was what is called an "excepted case"—that is, whereas processes of beatification and canonization ordinarily include as a preliminary the ascertaining of the fact that hitherto no *cultus* or worship has been offered to the servant of God who is the subject, this case was dealt with according to a different set of rules, inasmuch as it started from the fact that *cultus* had been paid to St. John Nepomucene from time immemorial. The reader who is curious in such matters will find an abundance of information as to the cases which are considered as "excepted," under the rules of Urban the Eighth in the second book of the great work of Benedict the Fourteenth already referred to. The author goes severally into the cases excepted in consequence of the common consent of the Church, or of some indult of a Pope, or by permission of the Sacred Congregation, or by the testimony borne to the sanctity by the Fathers and ancient writers, or lastly, on account, as we have said, of the existence of a *cultus* from time immemorial. This, as is natural under the circumstances, is the most frequent *casus exceptus* of all. We may as well, for the sake of clearness, quote a few words from Benedict the Fourteenth as to the manner of proceeding in such cases in general.

As to the received usage in such cases of Beatification and Canonization, it is as follows—First, the Ordinary makes a process as to the "fame" of virtue and miracles, and then a request is made for the Signing of the Commission as above (*i.e.*, as in other cases). Then, if the Ordinary has made a process as to the existence of a *casus exceptus*, and if he has given his decision thereon, the question is proposed in the "Ordinary" Sacred Congregation, *an sententia Judicis ordinarii super casu excepto sit confirmanda vel infirmanda*. But if the Ordinary has not made his process as to the *casus exceptus*,

then letters remissorial are asked for that such a process may be made by Apostolical (*i.e.*, Papal) authority, and when this process has been finished and opened in the usual way the question is proposed in the Ordinary Sacred Congregation, an *sententia Judicis delegati super casu excepto sit confirmanda vel infirmanda*. Lastly, the Promoter of the Faith writes an argument both against the validity and against the relevancy of the process. The Proctors and advocates answer him, and if the difficulties he has raised are removed, the Sacred Congregation gives its answer either for the confirmation of the sentence or that the *casus exceptus* from the decrees of Urban the Eighth has been sufficiently established. . . . (The reason of this alternative answer is) because it sometimes happens that the sentence of the Judge itself cannot be confirmed, and yet that it is sufficiently clear, either from the Acts or from the process itself, that the case is one which falls under the exceptions from the rules of Urban the Eighth, and then, in order to avoid further expence, . . . the Sacred Congregation abstains from confirming the sentence, and nevertheless, following the Acts, declares that the *casus exceptus* has been sufficiently made out for further proceedings to be made.

As the *casus exceptus* in the case before us is, as we have said, on account of *cultus ex immemorabili vel longissimo temporis cursu*, we may add a few words as to the meaning in which these terms are taken in processes of canonization. Benedict the Fourteenth gives an account of some curious technical questions which were raised at Rome as to the length of time which constituted time immemorial, and as to the year from which this length of time was to be dated backwards. It seems that Urban the Eighth himself declared that a hundred years was the antiquity of which he spoke. It would be encroaching too much on our limited space for merely preliminary information if we were to go into all these matters. The conclusion to which Benedict the Fourteenth comes is contained in the following sentence, which also introduces us to the requirements as to the character of the *cultus* in question—

In order that a case may be approved as an exception, *ex tempore immemorabili*, it is not only necessary that *cultus* should have been shown during a time exceeding a century, that that century should have elapsed before the publication of the Constitution of Urban the Eighth in 1634, and that this *cultus* should be proved by documents (*monumenta*) which also are older by a hundred years than the Constitution of Urban, as well as by witnesses examined with solemn legal formality (*secundum juris solemnitatem*), and so deposing to the immemorial character of the *cultus* with all requisite conditions; but it is also necessary that three other circumstances should be found to concur in the case—1. That the *cultus* practised should not have been

private but public. 2. That it should not only have been practised for a hundred years before the Constitution of Urban, but that it also should have been continued both up to the time of the sentence of the Judge, ordinary or delegated, and up to the time of the confirmation of the sentence (at Rome), if, as sometimes happens, a notable space of time has intervened between the sentence and its confirmation. 3. That, besides all this, there should have been knowledge and toleration of the *cultus* on the part of the Ordinary or of the Holy See.

He adds in the same chapter that the proof of the *cultus* during a century must be drawn from historical monuments, public documents, pictures, votive tablets, and the like, as well as from the testimony of sworn witnesses, who depose to the extent of their own memory and of what they have heard from those who have gone before them. He also mentions the use to be made of "experts"—learned men who are called in both as to the antiquity of documents and as to the dates of pictures, tablets, and the like. These "experts" are to be sworn to discharge their duties faithfully.

For the reason already hinted we shall not in this paper draw out at any length the full series of investigations which have to be gone through in cases such as those before us in order to the final result of canonization. Benedict the Fourteenth describes them in the first book of his work. The Holy See requires in the first instance that there shall be public fame as to the virtues and miracles of the person concerned, in the case of a confessor, and as to the martyrdom and miracles, in the case of a martyr. The commencement of the Process is the investigation by the Ordinary on these several points. By the side of these processes there must be that other, already spoken of, by which the *casus exceptus* must be proved, either on account of the existence of the *cultus* from time immemorial, or on account of any other of the reasons mentioned before. If this last Process has not been made by the Ordinary it is afterwards made on Pontifical authority. These Processes of the Ordinary are sent to the Sacred Congregation, and "opened" with certain solemnities in presence of the Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation. Then follows the discussion of the question, or *dubium*—*An sit signanda commissio intro-*

ductionis, and of the other, mentioned already, *an sit confirmanda sententia Judicis ordinarii (vel delegati) super casu excepto*. If all things go well, and the decision of the Sacred Congregation as to these questions is affirmative, the martyr or confessor whose cause is being dealt with is said to be *æquipollenter* beatified. "For as beatification is nothing else than the permission of *cultus* for certain determined places, and, as there can be no doubt as to the permission of *cultus* whenever the existence of a *casus exceptus* from the decrees of Urban the Eighth is approved, there seems no room left for doubt as to this 'æquipollent' beatification."¹ This kind of beatification requires no solemnities. It is thus, for instance, that the last "Beato" of the Society of Jesus, Father Favre, or Le Fevre, the first companion of St. Ignatius, has just been "beatified" by the present Pope—proof of *cultus* from time immemorial, with the requisite conditions, having been afforded. This, however, is but the first step to canonization, which requires a number of further discussions and investigations. In the case of a martyr, such as St. John Nepomucene, there are two important questions which have to be settled after the most careful and scrutinizing research of which the case admits. The first is the question—*An constet de martyrio, et causa martyrii?* And after this has been settled in the affirmative, there is the further question—*An constet de signis seu miraculis quæ supervenerunt post indultam venerationem?* That is, there must be proof of miracles which have occurred *after* the "æquipollent" beatification. Two of these at least must be proved, though in many cases the number has been far larger. Then there is the final question—*An stante approbatione martyrii et causa martyrii, et signorum et miraculorum, tuto procedi possit ad solemnem canonizationem?*

It may seem at first sight strange, that after such an approbation of an existing *cultus*, which is said to be equivalent to beatification, the Church should require so strict an investigation into matters such as the fact and the cause of a martyrdom, and in the parallel case of a

¹ Bened. XIV., *De Canoniz.*, l. i., cap. xxxi.

confessor, whose cause has been carried as far as the same stage of "æquipollent" beatification on account of a proved immemorial *cultus*—as the heroicity of his virtues. It would seem that if the virtues or the martyrdom of servants of God whose worship had already been solemnly approved and ratified by the Church were to be again submitted to examination, there must be some doubt on the matter, and some possibility that the new investigation may issue in conclusions which may upset the former decision. Benedict the Fourteenth discusses this very question,² drawing his illustrations, in fact, from the very case of St. John Nepomucene, with which we are now engaged, and his remarks are very pertinent to our purpose, and throw considerable light on the difference between a solemn canonization and a beatification. It may be worth while therefore once more to quote from him. He thus sums up his answer to the argument against the practice of the Sacred Congregation in such cases on the score of extreme rigour.

The objection was made, that after the *casus exceptus* had been approved, and much more, if the approbation has been given on the ground of Pontifical grants allowing mass and office to be said in honour of the servant of God, it was altogether incongruous to enter an examination of his virtues, because if they are thus dealt with and examined, the danger is incurred that what has already been approved of may be disapproved. But this is not a matter of so much force and moment as that on account of it the Sacred Congregation should depart from its necessary way of acting. For this approbation of a *casus exceptus* from the decrees of Urban the Eighth is not given unless the signing of the Commission precede, and thus, unless there be established, as will be seen in the proper place, the fame of virtues and miracles, or (in the case of martyrs) the fame of martyrdom and miracles or signs, and this is enough for the permission of public veneration in the case of servants of God or Blessed, who are in possession of very ancient *cultus*, and much more if in old time the Supreme Pontiffs have granted in their honour indulgences of such veneration. For it must not be supposed that such Popes acted without reason. Now if the Postulators do not ask for further proceedings, nothing more is required in such cases. But, if they wish for further proceedings, that is, for canonization, which implies a *cultus* under precept extended to the whole Church, then they ought to fulfil what the sacred Canons prescribe as to be fulfilled. They are therefore bound to propose the question (*dubium*) as to the virtues if it be the case of a confessor, or as to the martyrdom in the case of a martyr; and there is no longer the pretended danger of the rejection of what has already been approved,

² Lib. ii., cap. xxxii.

since the virtues or the martyrdom have not been approved, but only the common fame of virtues or of martyrdom, and of miracles ; and this fame would not at once cease, even if the virtues or the martyrdom were not to be approved, since the discussion on the virtues or on the martyrdom has respect to future canonization, and it is quite possible for both these two things to stand together, that is, that the fame of virtues or of martyrdom might be established sufficiently for the permission of the *cultus*, and yet that there might not be certainty sufficient for a *cultus* under precept as to the virtues one by one, or as to the martyrdom."³

He further on meets another objection drawn from the fact that in these ancient causes there can be no witnesses as to the virtues or as to the martyrdom, but only subsidiary evidence, that is hearsay evidence or historical testimony, and that this is not enough to found certainty ("*constare*") upon. He answers that such evidence is enough to produce certainty when it is the evidence of which the case admits, and is perfect in its kind, and he adds that the answer of the Sacred Congregation in such cases is not an absolute *constare*, but with a qualification, as in the case of St. John Nepomucene which he quotes, where the issue of the inquiry as to the martyrdom was that there was certainty *enough* about the martyrdom to allow of proceeding to the examination of the miracles.

II.

The whole of this reasoning shows, unless we are mistaken, that in such cases very great importance is attached to the fact of veneration from time immemorial ; that when this is established, it is easy to get the sanction of the Church for what is called "æquipollent beatification;" that she considers herself to go much further in canonization, because in that process she imposes rather than permits veneration, and consequently may fairly require a fresh examination, which examination, not being exactly of a litigious character, allows of historical and documentary evidence, when from the nature of the circumstance other evidence cannot be expected. A good deal has been said by various authors as to the extreme strictness of the proofs which are required at Rome in cases of beatification and canonization. It has sometimes been answered by

³ Lib. i., cap. xxxii., n. 16.

Protestant critics, that the witnesses are not cross-examined. The truth we take to be this—that the proof required is always strict considering the nature of the case. The case is not one of justice between man and man, still less does it require that overwhelming technical certainty in every item which is rightly exacted in causes the issue of which may condemn a man to severe punishment or even to death. It is, if we may so say, a domestic and friendly suit. It starts from the universal Catholic belief in the existence of high grades of sanctity, in the truth that God glorifies His saints by miracles, that He is honoured when they are venerated, and that He means His children to honour them for many reasons, among which not the least is that His blessings, spiritual and temporal, may be largely given to members of the Church on earth by the intercession and agency of members of the Church in heaven. At certain points of the process—as, for instance, in the determination of the entirely supernatural character of the miraculous cures which are selected as the specific proofs of the indubitable power of the saint's intercession with God—we find the most rigorous and extraordinary strictness. Still, as a whole, the process starts on the supposition of good faith in the witnesses and promoters; but it exacts severe examination and makes successive stages more or less difficult, out of love for truth, reverence for the honour of God which is concerned in the glorification of saints, and a perfect confidence that Providence will override even the most jealous precautions if it be His will that they should give way, and that the devotion of the faithful will not be diminished by their being obliged to make some sacrifices for the honour of the saints and of God. To the glorification of the servants of God on His part by miracles, and on the part of the Church by beatification and canonization, we may apply, in some sense, the words of St. Paul when he tells the Corinthians ⁴ that “prophecies” are a sign, not to unbelievers, but to believers. Canonizations are meant for the children of the Church—they are not addressed to those who are without. The whole process does not suppose the

⁴ 1 Cor. xiv. 22.

presence of the malignant caviller ready to impute the worst motives to the promoters of the cause, and the meanest venality to those who are its judges.

Further, we may add, with regard to such critics as those just hinted at, that when they take it into their heads to attack a process of canonization, and fasten a charge of imposture and mendacity upon the persons whom they choose to accuse of having fabricated a saint, it would perhaps be more prudent if they were not to select a case in which the *cultus* in question has existed, in the technical sense of the word, "from time immemorial," with the conditions required by the Sacred Congregation at Rome. Such a case surely presents enormous difficulties to the forger. It may seem all very easy to imagine miracles, or to invent virtues, but those who know anything about Catholic devotion will be quite aware that to extemporize a perpetual stream of worshippers and devout visitors to a shrine, to persuade them all, or many of them, that their prayers are heard and their homage blessed by tangible favours received from God through His saint, to make a particular grave venerable from generation to generation, to surround it with an ever increasing crown of *ex voto* offerings, each of which is a witness at least to the belief of its offerer that he has received marvellous assistance, and to continue this enormous mystification or imposture for centuries without interruption—all this is something which must tax the powers even of the most crafty manipulators of falsity in every shape to an extent which it is somewhat imprudent to ask reasonable men to consider possible. If the hopeful scribe to whom we have already alluded would listen to us, we should advise him not to strain the throats of the readers of the *Saturday Review* quite so much in any future demand he may make on their gullibility. It is true, most Englishmen are ready to swallow *almost* anything about Catholics, and especially about Jesuits. Still there are limits—which it might be safer for himself not to transgress.

It may be gathered from the foregoing remarks, that the case of St. John Nepomucene, if it had proceeded no

further than the *permissio cultus*, or "æquipollent" Beati-
fication of which Benedict the Fourteenth speaks, might
never have been submitted to that far more stringent
examination which, as a matter of fact, did take place
at the very time when no less vigilant a person than
Prosper Lambertini himself held the office which bound
him to see that the evidence was sifted to the uttermost.
But the good Bohemians were not content with the
approval of the religious honours rendered to their
patron, and carried his cause through the ulterior Processes
required for Canonization.

After three centuries [writes one of the biographers of the saint],
three processes were made, two by authority of the Ordinary, and
the other by Apostolical (Papal) authority. The first, on the "fame"
of martyrdom and of miracles, was begun in 1715 and ended in 1719.
The second, as to the "immemorial" *cultus*, was begun in 1719 and
finished in 1720. It was "approved" in the same year by the Congre-
gation of Rites and Pope Innocent the Thirteenth, and at the same
time a mass and office were granted to all the Hereditary States of
the House of Austria. This permission was afterwards extended, in
1723, to the Kingdom of Poland, the Duchy of Lithuania, and the
provinces annexed thereto. The devotion to the saint went on
increasing more and more; his feast was celebrated solemnly in Rome
itself, in the national Church of Sta. Maria dell'Anima, through the
means of Cardinal d'Altan, the "Ponente" of the cause, and after-
wards, with the same splendour and at equal expense, by Cardinal
Alvaro Cienfuegos, of the Society of Jesus, who succeeded the former
Cardinal in his place of Ambassador of the Emperor and "Ponente"
of the cause, and who was no ways inferior to his predecessor in
devotion to the saint. In 1722, fresh "letters remissorial" of the
Congregation of Rites were procured, in order to the formation of
new processes as to the holy life, martyrdom, and miracles of the
saint. This was the third process, begun in 1723 and ended in 1728,
after which His Holiness Benedict the Thirteenth, at the instance of
Monsignore John Rudolf de Spork, canon of the metropolitan Church
of Prague, and postulator of the cause, appointed the Congregation of
five Cardinals to examine and decide, *An constaret de martyrio et causa
martyrii*. The decision was affirmative, and the decree to that effect
was printed and published on January 12, 1728. On January 11th,
1729, another meeting of the Congregation of Cardinals and of
Theologians of the Congregation of Rites was held in presence of
His Holiness, as to the question of miracles, *An et de quibus signis
constaret*, and four were approved. . . . And on January 16th, His
Holiness published the decree of approbation, and on February 16
that of canonization, to be carried into effect March 19, in the Basilica
of St. John Lateran.⁵

This statement gives us the dates of each step in the
double process as to St. John Nepomucene—the process

⁵ Galluzzi, *Vita de S. Giov Nepomuceno*, p. 109.

of the approval of the immemorial *cultus*, and the process of the subsequent canonization. A living canon of the Cathedral of Prague, Auton Frind, gives an account of the proceedings which may as well be added as supplementary to the statement above.

The negotiations for the purpose of obtaining the canonization began as early as 1675, and were brought to a conclusion by the Bull of Canonization, March 19, 1729. The Emperor Leopold I., his sons and successors, Joseph I. and Charles VI., Augustus, King of Poland, and the Catholic Princes of Germany took the most lively interest in the matter. These, as well as the Estates and people of Bohemia, made great sacrifices to enable them to pay the expenses of the commissions, and the numerous journeys indispensable to the proceedings. The cathedral chapter of Prague kept, at their own expense, a representative with the Apostolic See during the whole process. The Archbishop likewise had an agent, and at times more than one, at Rome to watch the proceedings. The representatives of the chapter rendered most meritorious services. One of them, Canon Heinrich Barthl, afterwards Dean of Koniggratz, got together the documents of the process. He devoted for twenty years his time and exertions to the work. After him, Canon John Steyer worked zealously from 1720 to 1725. Lastly, the pious Count Rudolph of Spork, who founded a canonry for himself in the Cathedral of Prague, brought the process to an end with the most ardent zeal.⁶

It appears, then, that we are dealing with a process which was carried through every stage with all the usual care, which enlisted the sympathies and active exertions of the sovereigns and people of the country, and which took time, labour, and expence, all of which were cheerfully bestowed by those to whom it naturally belonged to bestow them, and especially the Chapter of Prague itself. This will surprize no one—except, perhaps, those innocent readers of the *Saturday Review* who may have been weak enough to trust the assurances of the reckless and ignorant writer to whom we have already referred, that the whole affair, from beginning to end, was got up by the Jesuits. We may have occasion to speak of the possible admixture of legend—not necessarily false—with ascertained history in the case before us; and we may say without fear of error, that no more gratuitous piece of fiction occurs in connection with the whole matter of St. John Nepomucene than this. It may be as well to add one more remark by way of preliminary to the discussion of the story of

⁶ Frind, *Oer Geschichtliche Heilige Johannes von Nepomuk*, p. 61. Prag., 1871.

St. John. It may seem strange that his formal canonization should not have been moved for till the latter half of the seventeenth century. An answer to the difficulty might be found in the history of his unfortunate country, which became the scene of confusion and civil strife at no great length of time after his death, and we might remind ourselves that for ordinary devotion people are often satisfied with venerating the servants of God without hindrance from authority, and do not always immediately think of a formal declaration on the part of the Church in favour of a higher kind of *cultus*. But, in truth, the best answer to the difficulty is to be found in a reference to the great number of cases of the same kind. In the second book of his great work, Benedict the Fourteenth, writing in the middle of the last century, gives a long list of the cases in which *cultus* had been permitted on the score of an "excepted case" from the decrees of Urban the Eighth. Out of a list of nearly sixty such cases, more than half relate to persons who died at an earlier time than St. John Nepomucene.

III.

It is now time to set before our readers as briefly as possible an account of the servant of God who was canonized on St. Joseph's Day, 1728, with the purpose of enabling them to see how he is represented in history and hagiology respectively, to understand difficulties which have been raised against certain authoritative statements concerning him, as well as the alternative answers to those difficulties which are open to them. And, first of all, we shall take St. John as he meets us as a received historical personage. We are obliged for the purpose to assume some of the questions which have been opened concerning him, but, as to any assumption of the kind, we shall of course in due time warn our readers. Here, then, is an account which embodies, as to the most important point of St. John's life, the words of the Bohemian historian Palacky—

He was born at Nepomuk, or Pomuk, a small town in the circle of Klattau, in Bohemia, about the middle of the fourteenth century.

God gave him those qualities of mind and heart which were to make him fit to gain the palm of martyrdom, in a time of corruption, and under a prince who was capable of every crime. He was ordained priest, and began his course by fulfilling the functions of imperial notary.⁷ He afterwards became doctor in canon law (*doctor decretorum*) in the University of Prague, canon of the collegiate church of Wisbad, and Vicar General of John of Jenstein, Archbishop of Prague.⁸ On September 3, 1390, he was received among the members of the metropolitan chapter of St. Veit, Prague, as canon without prebend, with the title of Archdeacon of Zateky, in the church of Prague.⁹ The Queen, young, beautiful, and pious, who must have been often saddened by the dissipated life of her husband, took John Nepomucene for her confessor. It is natural that the King's notice should have been drawn to him in this important and delicate office. The less Wenceslaus himself observed conjugal felicity, the more suspicious was he of the virtue of his wife. This jealousy drove him to express to the Queen's confessor the sacrilegious desire to know her confessions. John repelled the demand, as it was his duty to do. From that time Wenceslaus had only one thought—to avenge himself on John for his refusal. He only waited for a pretext to break out violently against the fearless confessor. The occasion presented itself in 1393. Wenceslaus wished to procure a bishopric for one of his favourites (Hyncik Pluh de Rabstein), and conceived the idea of a new diocese for him in the south of Bohemia. To accomplish his project, he only waited for the death of Racek, the old Abbot of Kladrau, intending to make this Benedictine abbey the new cathedral. Hardly was Racek dead, when the monks elected a new abbot, whose nomination was so promptly approved by the Vicar General of the Archbishop, that the King heard of the installation of the new abbot and of the death of Racek, at the same moment.¹⁰ He took advantage of this election, made and confirmed in contradiction to his own formal order, as a favourable occasion to let his fury fall on the odious Vicar General. He therefore called to Prague the Archbishop and his council, who resided at Raudnitz. [Thus far we have followed Dr. Ginzl, in the *Kirchen Lexicon*. We have now the words of Palacky.] At the sight of the Archbishop, the King was seized with so violent a fit of anger, that he threatened the counsellors of the Archbishop with the most terrible punishments, ordered the immediate arrest of the official, Nicolas Pucknik, the Vicar General, Doctor John of Pomuk, Wenceslaus, provost of Meissen, and the Archbishop himself, who were taken to the chapter-house, and there put to a severe interrogation. The Archbishop was frightened, and threw himself at the feet of the King to soften him. Wenceslaus began to take him off, mimicking his groans and suppliant gestures. The counsellors were conducted, under a strong escort, to the Hradschin. The guards by whom the Archbishop was surrounded saved him from a similar treatment much more than his dignity. Wenceslaus proceeded to make an interrogatory examination in the chapter-house of Prague, but this only redoubled his fury. He was quite beside himself; he struck the dean, Bohuslaw de Krown, with

⁷ *Liber Erectionis Capit. Metrop. Prague*, t. ii., ap. Berghauer, Protomartyr, i., 462, seq.

⁸ *Ibid.*, t. iii., ap. Berghauer, i., 403.

⁹ *Ibid.*, t. iv., i, 3, ap. Berghauer, i., 403.

¹⁰ Palacky, *History of Bohemia*, t. iii., p. 59.

the hilt of his sword, put him in irons, and committed him to the prison of the burgraviat. As to Pucknik, Pomuk, Wenceslaus, and Nepr de Raupow, the Archbishop's intendant, he had them taken to the town-hall, there to continue in the torture chamber the bootless inquiry he had begun in the chapter-house. Towards evening, he came there himself. The provost, Wenceslaus, and the intendant, swore solemnly to all that the King required of them, and were set at liberty; Pucknik, tied to the rack, promised all that was wanted of him, and even that he would be for ever silent as to the proceedings taken against him. He too obtained pardon, and was set free like the others. The Vicar General, John of Pomuk, *on whom the resentment of the King was concentrated for various motives*, was the only one who endured the tortures, which Wenceslaus is said himself to have administered to him, without being able to satisfy his thirst for vengeance. At last he had the unfortunate priest, who was already half dead, put in chains, taken to the Prague bridge, and thrown thence into the Moldau. This happened on Tuesday, March 20, at seven in the evening.¹¹

This is the account given of the life and death of St. John Nepomucene by modern historians, and the last part of our quotation is taken *verbatim* from Palacky, the Bohemian writer, who stands, we believe, deservedly at the head of the living historians of his country.¹² We shall quote only one more authority, an author quite above suspicion in all respects, and very favourable to Wenceslaus. This is the Protestant historian Schœll, who, in his *Histoire des Etats Européens*,¹³ thus sums up the matter as far as the death of John Nepomuk is concerned. After saying that Wenceslaus was unpopular with the Bohemians on account of the favour which he showed to the Germans, Schœll writes—

This partiality shocked the Bohemians, to whom it appeared unjust. Their discontent engendered more than one conspiracy, the authors of which were severely punished by Wenceslaus when he

¹¹ Quoted from Palacky, t. iii., p. 61, seq.

¹² We may remark that Mr. Wratislav, the gentleman from whose recent book on the subject of St. John Nepomucene the writer in the *Saturday Review* seems to have derived all his knowledge, such as it is, on the question, appears to have mistranslated Palacky on one most important point. It is Mr. Wratislav's thesis, that Wenceslaus had no quarrel with John of Pomuk except on the question of the Abbey of Kladrau. Palacky says that the King's wrath was concentrated on him for *various motives*. Mr. Wratislav, in his article in the *Contemporary Review*, April, 1869, translates the words, "Who was especially implicated in the eyes of the King." It is not our business to impute motives; but if a "Jesuit" writer had been guilty of such a misinterpretation, Mr. Wratislav would most certainly have imputed to him deliberate dishonesty.

¹³ T. viii., p. 86.

discovered them. These intrigues became more dangerous in 1391, on account of a quarrel which arose between the King and John of Jenstein, Archbishop of Prague, as to the extent of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and as to a project of the King's for the erection of a new bishopric, which would have been a dismemberment of the archbishopric. Wenceslaus, having been thwarted in the execution of this plan, gave way to all the violence of his character against the counsellors of the Archbishop, and ordered that John Pomuk, or Nepomuk, the Archbishop's Vicar, a man generally considered for his piety, should be bound hand and foot and thrown from the bridge over the Moldau. The Archbishop flew to Rome, and presented to the Pope an accusation of twenty-eight articles against Wenceslaus.

Schöell adds a note on the name John Nepomuk—

This is St. John Nepomucene, against whom Wenceslaus was irritated, as it is said, because he constantly refused to reveal to him the confessions of the Queen Jane of Bavaria, whose conduct, moreover, was quite above reproach. We must be on our guard as to all that prejudiced writers state as to the excesses of Wenceslaus, but the Church has recognized the innocence of Nepomucene by declaring him a saint.

Schöell, an older writer, had not seen Palacky's *History of Bohemia*, and this may account for the discrepancy of the date. But in other respects the two accounts are in the main identical.

This, then, we may say at once, is the St. John Nepomucene of history, and there is absolutely no reason at all for pronouncing that the account is not correct. We mean that there is no reason for supposing that this is not as good history as anything else that passes by the name. It is, in truth, as we shall see, a narrative made up of information which was at hand at the time of the canonization, with which we are more immediately concerned, and of information derived from documents which have since come to light. The part of the story which relates to the position of John of Nepomuk as Vicar General, and to the displeasure of the King against him, is derived from what we may call the later sources—later in point of discovery, not of existence; and the part of the story which refers to the Queen, the refusal of John of Nepomuk to betray her confession, and the rest, is derived from the sources which were consulted at the time of the canonization. There is one element of confusion, which added to a few minor discrepancies in the

several accounts, has made some writers object to the union of the two stories in the manner given above; this element being a difference of date: the earlier set of authorities, those used at the canonization, speaking of the year 1383, and the later set of documents giving the year 1393. For these critics, therefore, there are two Johns who were thrown over the bridge at Prague by the King's order—one the confessor of the Queen, the other the Vicar General of the Bishop. We have now fairly stated the whole difficulty, and, as our readers may remember, we have already dealt with the matter in the pages of this Review.¹⁴ We are not going over the whole ground again, nor need we attempt any new comparison of the alternative theories for the explanation of the difficulty. It appears to us that either may be held without the slightest shock to the devout belief of Catholics that they venerate at Prague a great and wonderworking martyr who was drowned in the Moldau because he would not break the seal of confession. This it is on which the Church has set her seal, after a careful and prayerful investigation of facts, by a decision which it is simple passion and unreasoning malignity to ascribe to corruption, venality, imposture, or any unworthy influences whatsoever. But we write now, as before, in the supposition that the view taken by historians—which combines the (supposed) two Johns into one, and solves the question of date by a mistake in one early writer, copied from him by others—is the easiest and the most natural of the two. As we have quoted Palacky, we shall again insert here his words on this question—

Regarding the identity or non-identity of the Vicar General, John of Pomuk or Nepomuk, with the saint of the same name canonized by Benedict the Thirteenth on the 19th of March, 1729, there has been since the seventeenth century a great deal of dispute, conducted not altogether without passion. . . . The conciliatory view, which was first adopted by Asseman, Wokam, and Father Athanasius, and which was afterwards brought forward by the master in criticism, Gelarius Dobner, in his book entitled, *Vindiciæ sigilli confessionis divi Joannis Nepomuceni protomartyris penitentiae assertæ* (Prague, 1784—8), possesses the highest claim for consideration before the tribunal of historical criticism. [Note of Palacky—not quoted by Mr. Wratislaw—to the passage containing the words mistranslated by him.]

¹⁴ See MONTH, vol. xv. (1871), p. 425.

What is absolutely uncritical is to let uncertainties produced by a conflict of authorities make us doubt as to facts which rest on good authority, and which are not touched by the conflict. If we are to allow confusion on account of discrepancies as to dates, the silence of one narrative as to one set of facts, and the silence of another narrative as to another set, and the like, to make us doubt that such and such persons lived and died, and that such and such events took place, when there is positive and affirmative evidence in abundance, we must give up history altogether. All that the accounts before us require is that one set of statements, resting on good authority, should be supplemented by another set of statements, also resting on good authority; and not to allow this is altogether uncritical. It is a great deal worse to imagine fraud, and to insinuate that one set of statements has been "substituted" for another, one "martyr" foisted on the world in the place of another. In the present case the supposed "substitute" happens to have been in possession all along, and it is easy to understand how his part of the story came to prevail.

It must be obvious to all that the violent death of John of Nepomuk, from the circumstances of the case, could be attributed to a double cause, or to one of two causes, according to the sphere, so to speak, in which any statement concerning it was made. Technically, we suppose, in a document such as the Archbishop's complaint to the Pope against Wenceslaus, the murder would come in as an aggravating circumstance in the story of the King's violence in the matter of the intended encroachment on the canonical rights of the see of Prague. The quarrel about the abbot was the ostensible cause of the death of the Vicar General. It was as Vicar General that he had offended the King, as Vicar General that he had been tortured and put to death. The others fled or submitted; he stood firm and was thrown over the bridge. But technically, our Lord was condemned to death for stirring up the people and forbidding them to give tribute to Cæsar. Technically, St. John Baptist was put to death because Herod had promised to give a lascivious dancing girl

anything that she chose to ask of him. But our Lord, as Pilate knew, was delivered up on account of the envy of the Jewish priests. St. John Baptist was really the martyr of the inviolability and indissolubility of marriage; and whatever a Roman Governor might have said on his report of the Crucifixion, or whatever Herod's Minister might have left on record as to the cause of the death of St. John, history and popular devotion would always have agreed in assigning the true cause in each case. So it was with St. John Nepomucene. It often happens—it happened after the Crucifixion itself—when a great crime has been perpetrated, that the people who have been cowed and paralyzed by fear while it was being committed have taken courage immediately after, and come forward boldly to render homage to the truth and honour to the victims of the crime. The body of John of Nepomuk was very soon recovered, and placed in the Cathedral, and from that time to this it has been honoured by popular devotion sanctioned in its turn by frequent miracles.

All this happened on the very eve of the Hussite wars, and for many generations Bohemia was in a state of constant disturbance, anarchy, or civil war. More than once the Reformation seemed almost triumphant in the country, and Prague itself underwent endless vicissitudes and calamities. But nothing was ever able to eradicate the memory of John of Nepomuk, or to deprive the Bohemian people of their venerated patron and intercessor. Only, as is perfectly natural, the people fastened upon that cause of his death which spoke most entirely home to themselves and their tenderest interests. Englishmen, we fear, in general cannot as yet appreciate the value which a Catholic population must always set upon the Sacrament of Penance. But any one, even the most rabid Protestant, can surely understand that if a population uses such a sacrament at all, it must resent as the grossest injury any attempt to tamper with the sacredness of the seal of confession, and must be inclined to honour with the most grateful and heartfelt devotion a saint who had lost his life because he would not yield up his solemn trust at the command of a King. It was, therefore, we may safely

say, only what must have happened under the circumstances, that in Bohemia St. John Nepomucene would become the revered martyr of the seal of confession, and that, whether the people knew or not of the occasion which the King had used to bring about his death, it would not be that occasion which would imprint itself on their minds and hearts in connection with the saint. What would they care for encroachments on episcopal jurisdiction, or the right of the monks of Kladrau? To the majority, indeed, it is probable that St. John was the wonderworking martyr alone, of whose life they would know almost nothing: in those who might inquire as to the cause of his martyrdom, there would be little disposition to learn more than the King killed him because he would not reveal the Queen's confession.

On the other hand, it is equally obvious that the circumstances which gave occasion rather than cause to the death of the saint would not be forgotten by those for whom they had a more special interest. In particular, it would be almost absurd to expect that the Archbishop John of Jenstein, flying to Rome and carrying his complaints against Wenceslaus before the Supreme Pontiff, should ground his charge against the King on any other than what we may call the more formal and technical elements of the case. The Archbishop's complaint turned upon the matter that had been the cause of his own quarrel with the King. If he knew of the grudge which Wenceslaus bore to John of Nepomuk on the score of his refusal to reveal the Queen's confession, it cannot have been in a way that admitted of certain proof. No one has ever supposed that Wenceslaus was so entirely lost to all shame as to avow publicly his disgraceful attempt on the priestly integrity of the Vicar General, or to give out that he punished him because he would not violate the secret of confession. We are therefore prepared by the very nature of the case to find just what we do find in fact, that the martyr was popularly venerated as such, and as having suffered for a cause which all Christians must have dearly and tenderly at heart—popular opinion in this case being guided by a true and unerring instinct,

for there can hardly have existed any documentary proof of the shameful motives which actuated Wenceslaus—and also that there would exist historical records mentioning as the occasion of the death of the martyr the quarrel with the King about ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It cannot in any way surprize us that we should find the cause mentioned without the occasion, or the occasion mentioned without the cause.

If we consider the life of the saint, as distinguished from the actual cause of his violent death, we shall find the same two-fold aspect, one or the other side of which will be presented to us according to the point from which it is regarded. The determining point of the whole is the end. It was his death for the seal of confession that made St. John a martyr. To die for the seal of confession would be the duty of every priest in the world if the occasion were presented to him, just as to die for the profession of the Catholic faith in general would be the duty of every Christian in the world if the occasion were presented to him. It may be considered as most probable that a holy life, a life even of remarkable holiness, may be the ordained preparation for so glorious an end; but the rule cannot be made general, at least it cannot be made general and without exceptions. It is by no means probable that, if we had contemporary records as to all the transactions in which all those who are venerated by the Church as martyrs were engaged, we should find nothing but what is edifying in the highest degree. We might, at all events, find them sometimes spoken of as sharp men of business, perhaps now and then giving way to temper, perhaps apparently hard and ambitious. But all these defects would have nothing to do with what we call the hagiological account of them—the picture that would exist of them in the minds of the faithful who venerated their relics and obtained benefits from heaven through their intercession. This picture would be drawn in bright and soft colours, it would be founded on traditions and anecdotes, and bring into prominence whatever indications such traditions would furnish of early piety or the practice of high virtue. We call this the hagiological view of a

saint, taking its colour from the martyrdom which was but the termination of, it may be, a long and active life spent in the ordinary pursuits of any honourable calling. If it were not that the word "legendary" is likely to be misunderstood, and that in these days Catholics are misrepresented for the most innocent expressions, we should not be afraid to use that word of such accounts. Legend is not "all pure invention," "pure romance from beginning to end," to use the words of the extremely shallow writer to whom we have more than once had to refer. There are legends and legends, and many stories and anecdotes that cannot be authenticated or traced to eye-witnesses may yet represent authority of the highest kind, while a mass of such stories, individually of unequal value, may yet have a great importance in conveying to us the belief of generations and in giving a picture which on the whole is historically accurate. The contempt of critics is with equal justice due to two classes of offenders in respect of this subject-matter—to those who swallow every legend they come across as if it were authentic history, and to those who, like the *Saturday Reviewer* in question, set down all traditions for which documentary evidence cannot be alleged as worthless. When, as this writer proceeds to do, these last most uncritical critics go on to throw about such words as "fabrication," "forgery," "imposture," and the like, applying them to writers whose reverence for truth they show no signs themselves of even distantly approaching, they of course deserve a censure far more severe than that of being very poorly acquainted with the principles of their own craft.

The story of St. John Nepomucene as it is laid before us in the Lessons of the Breviary for the day of his festival, and as it is more fully told in the Life of the saint by Balbinus, on which, as it seems, these Lessons are founded, is within the reach of any reader of Butler's *Lives of the Saints*. Many particulars are related as to the parentage, birth, and childhood of the saint, as to his holy life and success in preaching, and as to his remonstrances with the Emperor Wenceslaus for his frequent barbarities. There is an account of the attempt made by

Wenceslaus to induce John to reveal the confessions of the Empress, and of the tortures to which the saint was put on account of his refusal. This was some time before his martyrdom. John is said, after his release from the first torture, to have foreseen that the Emperor would again seek to shake his constancy, to have predicted his own death, and to have made a pilgrimage to a celebrated shrine of our Blessed Lady in preparation for it. The circumstances of his arrest are told in this story in a manner quite different from that which belongs to the historical account. There is no mention whatever of the Archbishop, nor of the Abbot of Kladrau, nor of any quarrel about jurisdiction. The Emperor looks out of his palace window, sees John alone in the street, sends for him, threatens him, and orders his execution. "The barbarous order was executed," writes Alban Butler, "and after some hours which the martyr employed in preparing himself for his sacrifice, he was thrown off the bridge which joins the Great and Little Prague, into the river Moldau, with his hands and feet tied, on the vigil of the Ascension, the 16th of May, 1383.¹⁵ The martyr was no sooner stifled in the waters, when a heavenly light appeared over his body," &c.

This is, in the main, the story of St. John as it was presented to the Sacred Congregation for canonization. It leaves out, as we have said, all mention of the Vicar General who was put to death on account of the quarrel between the Archbishop and the King. Before we proceed to lay before our readers what is known concerning the evidence on which the Sacred Congregation proceeded in approving of his *cultus* and in the further step of his solemn canonization, we are tempted to say a few words on the numerous miracles which are recorded as having

¹⁵ Every little note of time, as our readers will see, is valuable on this question, not as affecting the truth of the story, but as possibly furnishing a clue to the solution of the only real matter for controversy—namely, whether there were two canons John murdered by Wenceslaus at different times, or whether the two accounts relate to the same person. In 1383, the year assigned above, Easter was as early as it could be, and the vigil of the Ascension fell on April 29. In 1393, on the other hand, the Feast of the Ascension fell on May 15, so that the 16th was the day after the feast.

been granted to his intercession. Here, of course, we lay ourselves open to the childish flippancy of such writers as the author of the article in the *Saturday Review* of which we have been speaking. But any fact or series of facts which fills up a large space in the daily religious life of a whole people is worthy of the notice of those who wish rather to look at history philosophically than to pen a flimsy article in an organ which seems to consider it as its own peculiar mission to teach people to sneer. There can be no manner of doubt in any reasonable mind that the devotion to St. John, as it exists at the present day at Prague and throughout Bohemia, not to speak of other countries, and, as we have every cause to believe, as it existed from the time of his martyrdom up to that of his canonization, is a very strong Christian evidence to the truth of his history, at least as far as relates to his having suffered death for a holy cause. Answered as that devotion has been and is by numberless graces, temporal and spiritual, it may not carry conviction to unbelieving and scoffing minds, but those minds must be unbelieving and scoffing on which it has no weight. Of course it is as easy to talk of "falsification," deception, imposture, delusion, and the like in this case as in the case of the story itself. It is as easy—and as childish. Nevertheless, the Congregation of Rites acted on the soundest principles of reason and logic in taking this fact into consideration in their decision as to St. John Nepomucene. What is remarkable about his miracles is, that so many of them seem to confirm, in the way in which such confirmation is possible, the common story about the cause of his martyrdom. It may be painful to those among the writers in the *Saturday Review*—(they are happily not all homogeneous in this respect)—who seem to live in the perpetual exercise of the faculties of snarling defamation, especially as regards Catholic saints and holy things, to hear that there is a saint in the Calendar who is considered to be the particular patron and protector of those against whom evil tongues have been let loose. Such, however, is the case. If the Catholics of England desired to choose a saint whom they might make Patron of an Association for the defence of

the Church against the slanders of the anti-Catholic press of this country, they could, according to analogy, select no one better than St. John Nepomucene. The Life of the saint which now lies before us, printed at Rome immediately after his canonization, contains a chapter on the subject of his defence of his clients against attacks on their fame which would probably make our friend of the *Saturday* open his eyes very wide.¹⁶

It is also worthy of remark that, among the miracles which were approved for his canonization, we find the incorruption and intumescence of the tongue of the martyr particularly selected. Benedict the Fourteenth tells us that this incorruption of the tongue, and its continuance in that state, were examined and considered miraculous, but that, inasmuch as this miracle had preceded the "æquipollent beatification" in 1719, two other miracles were examined and approved before the canonization was allowed. The bearing of this miracle, in confirmation of the history, may be gathered from the closing words of the following extract from Galluzzi, which relates the discovery. After speaking of the state in which the body was found, he says—

Every other marvel is surpassed by the incorruption of the tongue. I may here relate this great miracle, or rather these two miracles,

¹⁶ See Galluzzi, *Vita de S. Giov Nepomuceno*. Rome, 1729. We may add that Mr. Wratislaw, the originator, at least in this country, of the entirely unfounded libel against the Society of Jesus, which accuses the members of that body of having "fabricated" St. John Nepomucene because they wanted a patron "for their favourite engine the confessional," makes a great deal of the fact that "Clement XII. granted to the order St. John of Nepomuk as its Patron Saint and Protector against all their blasphemous and false accusers" (*St. John Nepomucene*, p. 3). He speaks of this as "perhaps the highest distinction he has received," and considers him as second only to our Blessed Lord Himself in the veneration of the Society. The only particular honour paid to St. John in the Society is that his office and mass are in its Calendar, as in many other Calendars—but only as a common double, without an octave, and with no mention of him as a Patron. If he were a Patron in the full ecclesiastical sense, his Feast would certainly be of a much higher rite, and have an octave. We can find no trace of his having been declared a Patron, in the ordinary full sense of the word, in the history or Institute of the Society. But it is very probable that, although the *Saturday Review* and Mr. Wratislaw had not yet come into being in the eighteenth century, the Society may then, as now, have had great need of the protection of heaven against slanderers and calumniators, and that a Pope of that time may have placed it under the special patronage of St. John. But this has nothing to do with the confessional.

authentically proved and admitted as such by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, in regard to the sacred tongue of the martyr. They took place in two years of the present century, 1719 and 1721, and are all the more important, inasmuch as they took place in testimony to the sanctity of this holy martyr just at the time when the juridical investigation was being made. And first in the year 1719, when the formal authentic view of the holy body was made in the presence of the Archbishop of Prague and other lords, assisted by physicians and experts, the holy body was found fleshless, but with marks of a blow or a violent contusion on the head and on one shoulder; the ribs of the left side were found humid and moist with a kind of oil, or liquor, or "manna," which three physicians and two surgeons who were present considered could not be without miracle in a body three centuries old, in which the bones ought naturally to be dry. But this was not the only prodigy, nor the greatest, since, though the rest of the body was decayed, the tongue was found entire and incorrupt. This miracle is like that which is related of the great wonderworker St. Antony, with the difference that the tongue of the saint of Padua was found uncorrupt only thirty-two years after his death, that is, in 1263, the saint having died in 1231, but the tongue of St. John after about three centuries, and in the one case it was in reward for having spoken so well and in the other for having kept silence so well. . . . In 1721 the tongue was carried solemnly through the city, accompanied by the clergy, secular and regular, and the prelates. It was again examined by apostolic authority in the year 1721, Jan. 27. . . . At the time of the visitation, and at the end of the examination and recognition, in the sight of the judges and all the spectators, it for the space of an hour gradually changed colour, and having been at first pale became red, and having been first empty (*floscia*) it became full and swelling, so that all its fibres could be seen, as if it had been but lately cut off, and a slight incision which had been made in 1719 on the tip became visible and widened. This redoubled prodigy, which took place at that time of the visitation and recognition, and while the Apostolical Process was being made, is an authentic testimony, given by God, of the undoubted sanctity and martyrdom of this great hero by reason of his triumphal silence, and that heaven conspires with earth to increase the honours of the great Protector of Bohemia.¹⁷

We have now to proceed to the positive proofs on which the Sacred Congregation acted in deciding as it did in the case of St. John Nepomucene. Here we must again point out that we are doing something different from proving *de novo* either the sanctity of the martyr or the truth of all the circumstances of the received story of his martyrdom. The writers against whom we are arguing do not content themselves with charging the Church with having made a mistake as to St. John Nepomucene—with having omitted to consider a certain number of facts respecting him, or with having proceeded in ignorance to a conclusion which, as subsequent dis-

¹⁷ P. 60.

coveries show, ought to be revised. They charge her with having been the victim, the willing and even conscious victim, of a gigantic fraud and imposture, and they name the persons who were the deliberate fabricators of the false story which the Church accepted. The sweet-mouthed critic whom we have already more than once quoted, tells his readers, when he parts with them, that St. John Nepomucene "owes his existence to a long course of pertinacious imposture, and his place among the saints to the culpable weakness, or more guilty complicity, of the highest authorities of the Church." And he has adopted a passage of his only authority, Mr. Wratislaw, who says that "by dint of the most unscrupulous forgery and lying, in spite of the warnings of an honourable member of their own order, the Jesuits succeeded in forcing his canonization on the reluctant Church of Rome, and then proceeded to inaugurate him as their second Patron."

In answer to this series of assertions, we have simply to show that the Sacred Congregation proceeded in the matter with its usual prudence and caution, that it had perfectly sufficient grounds for each step that it took, and that the Jesuits had apparently nothing to do with it at all, except that a *Life of the saint*, by Balbinus, a Jesuit, was admitted, as there was every reason why it should be admitted, as of considerable authority. The conclusion arrived at by the Sacred Congregation remains entirely unaffected by the evidence afterwards brought to light. That evidence has certainly raised some historical and academical questions, and it may be thought, or not be thought, as the case may be, that if known at the time it might have caused some addition to, or modification of, the Bull of Canonization, or the Lessons in the Breviary. That is all—as we hope in the next part of this paper to make clear. And the charges of fraud, imposture, fabrication, romance, lying, forgery, and the like, are utterly baseless, and being utterly baseless, prove nothing at all—except that certain persons are not very particular about bearing false witness against their neighbours.

Among the Prophets.

CHAP. XXVII.—THE TOP WALK IN THE GARDEN.

IN the course of last summer Mr. Pedallion at Shotterton had a very severe illness. For a few days he seemed in imminent danger, but just as matters were at the worst his good constitution enabled him to rally, and after some weeks more of anxiety he at last grew decidedly better, though it was evident that he had received a shock from which he would never entirely recover. His illness brought out the general esteem and regard in which he was held. Everybody knew Mr. Pedallion, and no one had any quarrel with him. Although not so well known at Shotcote as at Shotterton, he had taught the young ladies of the Park in their early days, and was a considerable ally of Mrs. M'Orven. That good old lady professed to devote herself more especially to the care of the poor and sick of her own religion, but suffering and anxiety of any kind and anywhere drew her to themselves with the force of a magnet, and thus it was that, when Mr. Pedallion fell ill, she was almost as frequent a visitor at his house as any one at Shotterton. Amy Amyot often accompanied her. The Ritualist clergyman, Mr. Lerner, looked upon the pair with some suspicion, but he was only a new comer, and did not understand the position which both the ladies held all over the countryside.

During the illness of her father, Rosa would often insist on sitting up at night by his bedside, and thus it was that she was almost as often resting during the day, when Mrs. M'Orven and others would take her place, either to watch the invalid or to answer the inquiries of visitors. There was a good deal of quiet patient watching,

when Mr. Pedallion might be left almost to himself—other times when he was able to talk to the few people who were really in his confidence. Perhaps these were limited to three—his daughter, Mr. North, and Mrs. M'Orven, though he was very fond of Amy, and would have opened his heart to her father if he had been on the spot.

The ground rose behind Mr. Pedallion's house, and there was a pretty garden—half garden half orchard—running up the hill, with two or three little terrace walks cut across the slope. The highest of these was broad and fringed with flower beds, and there were a couple of seats and a sheltered arbour at the one end, which commanded a fine view, taking in the windings of the little Shute both above and below the town. It was on this terrace that Rosa Pedallion found herself one afternoon with Mrs. M'Orven, who had just been paying an unusually long visit to her father. Amy Amyot, who had come with Mrs. M'Orven, and was to call to fetch her, had gone into the town after walking with Rosa, and had not yet returned.

"Your father is much better," said the old lady. "We shall have him with us yet awhile, thank God."

"You have been so kind, Grannie," said the other. In the course of the illness it had been agreed that "Grannie" was the proper term. "Papa always looks forward to your visits, and speaks of the beautiful and simple prayers which you read to him."

"Do you know, little puss," said Mrs. M'Orven, "what we have been talking of this afternoon while you have been up here with Amy?"

"No mischief, I hope?"

"No, but of a mischievous young lady, though, who gives her papa a little anxiety."

"What is it? Do you mean me, Grannie?"

"Perhaps I should hardly say anxiety. But you know, dear child, that it must often have come into your father's head while he has been so ill what would become of you if he were taken away. You could not live by yourself."

"You know I have relations in Guernsey, Grannie. I could go to them."

"No, you would not wish to leave Shotterton. You belong to us, my dear. We can't let you go to Guernsey."

"Well, but papa is getting well again now, so the danger is over. There will be time enough to think of all that by-and-bye. As soon as he is well enough we shall get a little change, and come back again before the weather is colder."

"And then, and then, and then," said Mrs. M'Orven. "No, Rosie, you are a woman now; this illness of your father must have made you think. Besides, if you are induced to wait, others wont."

"Others! what have others got to say to it?" Rosa coloured as she said this.

"Others may have a good deal to say to it." And Mrs. M'Orven sat down and drew Rosa to her side. They sat silent for a few moments.

In truth, just at the time of which we are speaking a great deal of talk was going on in the little world at Shotterton about this young lady, who, to do her full justice, was as innocent of any act or thought which might have set the gossips to work about herself as she was ignorant of what they were saying. But, in a small place like Shotterton, Rosa had become a sort of princess since her father's accession to the moderate fortune which had raised him to the dignity of a great man in the eyes of the public, and it was only human nature that people should be talking as to what was to become of her when she was left alone to inherit her ancestral kingdom. It was commonly supposed that she might find a home at the Vicarage as wife to Gerald Merton if she chose, and the new clerical potentate, Mr. Lorner, was also thought to look upon her with peculiar devotion. The talk had reached the ears of people who had reported it all, as in duty bound, to her father. Her doings were watched and chronicled, and if she ever wrote a note to Mr. Lorner about the church music, or borrowed a book from the Vicarage library, it was noted down. As a matter of fact she went comparatively seldom to the Vicarage, though she was on very friendly terms with the ladies there, and she had hardly ever put her foot inside

Mr. Lorne's house. But, as both the gentlemen in question were frequent visitors at her father's, and unremitting in their attention during his illness, the gossips found plenty of incidents on which to found their surmises. It was reported that an arrangement had been made, which was to be divulged to the world as soon as Mr. Pedallion's health permitted it. But it was not quite settled which of the two gentlemen it was to be.

Mrs. M'Orven was privy to Mr. Pedallion's anxiety to see his daughter settled—an anxiety quite independent of the troublesome gossip of which she was the subject, though not altogether unenhanced by it. "Speak to her about it," said the old lady. "It is the custom in this country to imagine that parents do wrong when they interfere in such matters. On the contrary, what can they do better than help their children to make happy marriages?" She made him laugh by telling him how she had herself stumbled upon a number of delicate intimations as to the wishes of the several parties more or less closely concerned in the proposed arrangements. "The remarkable thing is," she said, "that neither of the two gentlemen who are supposed to be after your daughter seems to have what is called 'the courage of his convictions.'" Mrs. Merton had met her in the road as she was leaving Mr. Pedallion's one day, and had expressed the greatest interest in Rosa's welfare, saying how happy she would make any one who was fortunate enough to attract her, and the rest. Her girls loved her as a sister, and Gerald blushed whenever her name was mentioned. "'Why doesn't he ask her, then?' I said." There was not quite so much to go upon in Mr. Lorne's case, but he had for some unaccountable reason taken to talking freely about his doings at Shotterton to Mrs. M'Orven herself during some of his interviews with her, when she was keeping watch and ward in the parlour to prevent visitors from being too troublesome to Rosa herself, and among other things he had spoken of the sisterhood in which he was interested, and to which he had just persuaded Charlotte North to devote herself. "I suppose we shall have you sending Miss Pedallion there, some

day?" the ruthless old lady had said. He had hummed and hesitated, and then said that Rosa was perhaps intended for another sphere of duty. "Ah, I suppose you are like Mr. Merton—you think she would make a good clergyman's wife?" she had replied, and the evident confusion into which the question had thrown him had revealed to her discerning eyes that she was not far wrong.

"In short, dear friend," she had concluded, "it is not well that people should be all talking of her so much. She is as good as gold, and perfectly simple; but, if I were you, I should get her married if she will. Not that I can recommend either of her present admirers—unless she herself has taken a fancy to Mr. Gerald. He'll never set the Thames on fire, and I believe he hangs back because he has once gone a little too far with some one else to make it comfortable. But he's a good fellow at bottom, and when once fixed will be a devoted careful husband."

So it had been arranged that Mrs. M'Orven should prepare the ground with Rosa, and that then her father should ask her what she thought of "settling in life." If any hint could be got from her as to her preference, Mrs. M'Orven was to bring about the denouement of this little affair.

While we have been writing this, Rosa has been sitting thoughtfully by her old friend, with her hand in hers. At last she sank her head on the old lady's breast, and began to cry.

At this very critical moment the little swing-gate at the bottom of the garden gave a click, having been rather violently flung backwards after the entrance of a party of three, who were evidently intending to mount the little zigzag path which led up to the top terrace where the two ladies were sitting. It would take them nearly two minutes, and no more, to reach the top—Amy Amyot, Gerald Merton, and Mr. Lorner; the two latter walking in the most friendly guise with Amy between them, not at all as if they were knights ready to do battle for the favour of the weeping damsel at the top. Mrs. M'Orven

had no time to lose, but she determined to make the most of what she had.

"Others may have something to say to it, is it not so? Well, dear, here come the "others." Tell me which——"

"My dear Grannie, those others, at all events, will never have anything to say to it."

"Well, but, you silly child, I think either of them would be glad enough——"

"Glad or not," said Rosa, now smiling, "not if I know it, Grannie. I am not born to look after parish matters, or to help my husband to celebrate in Oriental vestments."

The pair now rose and went forward to meet the guests as if nothing had been happening. Nor is there anything more worthy of relation in the conversation that followed. Rosa clung as much as possible to Amy, and Mrs. M'Orven engaged the two gentlemen with a running fire of questions as to the line that their bishop was likely to take in the new movement against the "Confessional in the Church of England." She was, however, thoughtful and silent on her drive home with Amy. Once she asked her rather abruptly whether John Wilton was much of a friend of the Pedallions. Amy said she thought he was neighbourly, but nothing more.

CHAP. XXVIII.—MR. LORNER AT BREAKFAST.

MR. LORNER has been mentioned in the last chapter in two very different connections. It is not the fault, however, of the humble chronicler of events at Shotterton if the same gentleman has to appear before the reader as alarmed at some possible demonstration against his practice of hearing confessions on the part of the bishop, and also as anxious to win the affections of a fair girl, young enough to be his own daughter. These incongruities are innate in the position of Anglican clergymen who determine to consider themselves, and make others consider them, as Catholic priests as well as marriageable gentlemen living and moving in society. Those subject to the inconveniences resulting from such a position are far more to be pitied than to be laughed at, and there can be no doubt

that the matter will work itself out to a satisfactory solution in course of time. Meanwhile, there will be many who will suffer under the awkwardness of circumstances which they did not create, and out of which they do not yet see their way. Whether the very incongruity, and, even more, the manifold danger of the position might not suffice to open the eyes of the sufferers to the fact that it could not possibly have had a divine origin, and that it is enough of itself to settle to practical minds the question of Anglican Sacerdotalism, is a point as to which more need not now be said.

Mr. Lorner was certainly anxious as to the effect on his bishop's mind of all that has lately been said and written against the introduction, as it is termed, of the Confessional into the Establishment. The bishop was a very good man, a fair scholar, quick, ready, a fluent speaker and preacher, somewhat stern in character, but just and upright. He had won his way to his high position rather by hard parochial work and an active participation in the ecclesiastical administration of the part of the country in which he had lived, than by learned books or prominence as a party man. He was so good personally that it was whispered among the Ritualists that he had been known to hear confessions and to go to confession himself. But a man may be very good and practical in his personal religion, and yet when he comes to have a seat in the House of Lords and in the Upper House of Convocation, he cannot help catching the tone of the people about him in both places. It was felt to be quite necessary that the bishops should do something or other to make people think that they had their eyes on these dreadful "priests" who would hear confessions, and that they would take some measures in order to stop the spreading evil. They were, in truth, as a body, profoundly ignorant of the doctrine of the Church as to the Sacrament of Penance. One of them even let out his opinion that sacramental Confession meant Confession as a preliminary to the Sacrament of Holy Communion. They had generally an entirely erroneous idea of the Catholic practice; and they supposed that there was some sort of physical force

used to bring Catholics in general to what is called "compulsory" confession, much as in some countries there is a law about what is called compulsory education. If any one wants to find a good instance of a number of excellent persons talking platitudes about what they do not even elementarily understand, he might be recommended to the discussions in the Upper House of Convocation last summer on the subject of Confession. One or two of the right reverend prelates seem to have had a little more knowledge than the rest, and that is all that can be said.

But the issue of the consultations in question, as far as outsiders are able to gather it, seems to have been this: that each bishop was to take an opportunity of writing a letter or making some public pronouncement in which the views of "our Church" on the subject of confession and absolution were to be promulgated. A good many had done this already at the time of which we are writing, and among them Mr. Lorner's diocesan, the Bishop of —, already mentioned. The bishops certainly had rather a hard task set them by public opinion and general feeling, which are both, by a great majority, against the practice in question. If there is anything clear in the world, it is that Anglicanism puts into the mouth of her "priests" a distinct form of sacerdotal absolution to be used in the case of the sick, and that when those "priests" are ordained, the "bishop" uses to them the solemn form, "Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained." It is as clear that Anglicanism has kept, as far as words go, and as far as it had it in its power to keep, the sacerdotal power of forgiving sins for its ministers, as it is clear that the same Anglicanism has utterly rejected and eliminated and obliterated all vestige of the sacerdotal power of sacrifice in the same ministers. Of course the two cannot be separated; the rejection of one implies the loss of the other. But here were words staring these unfortunate bishops in the face, words which they used themselves every time they ordained, words which were used to them when they themselves were ordained, and now they had

to get rid of them if they could, and to snub, if not to proscribe, a powerful set of clergymen who were determined to act upon them.

It is not necessary to insert here the Bishop of ——'s letter, which was circulated by his secretary among the clergy, and which made Mr. Lorner eat rather a bad breakfast on the morning on which he found it on his breakfast table, after having "celebrated," with the aid of his groom, housemaid, and cook, and Miss Charlotte North, a mass after the Armenian rite in honour of all the holy English Pontiffs since the Reformation. The one respectable English pontiff with whom he had to do, spoke at some length of the great tenderness of the Anglican Church for suffering and sin-burthened souls, and remarked how this tenderness was particularly conspicuous in the arrangements she had made for assuring to the penitent the entire forgiveness of his offences. The very opening of her services was a promise to the converted. She had indeed swept away the soul-enslaving machinery of the confessional, and had asserted the great principle that no one was to stand, in the matter of forgiveness, between man and his God, to Whom alone it belongs to pardon offences against Himself. But she had still provided for those who could not of themselves disburthen their conscience without the help of discreet and learned ministers, the liberty, which she invited them to use on the eve of partaking of the Lord's Supper, of opening their griefs and receiving ghostly counsel and advice and the benefit of absolution by the ministry of God's holy word. As however, the bishop added, the Church had not provided any form of absolution in such cases, he considered that it was not for him to legislate on the subject. He would content himself with recommending, in the first place, as the ministry of God's word was mentioned, the "comfortable words" which are inserted in the Communion Office, and, if those were not found enough, the form of Absolution in the same office. As to confession, he considered that the Church of England did not encourage it, except in special cases, as in preparation for Communion and on a sick bed. Habitual

confession was, he considered, to be deprecated altogether. Confession might do good to the soul occasionally, but if it were repeated often it would become a mere matter of routine, and engender dangerous relations between the confessor and the penitent. He then went on to say that young men should be encouraged to visit their pastors before communion, but not young women, and that the Romish system of compulsory confession and direction—"whatever may be meant by that dangerous term"—must be considered as altogether contrary to his wishes and advice.

Mr. Lorner tossed the letter indignantly down into the dish of kidneys before him—much to the detriment of the neat writing and pure white paper which conveyed the episcopal thoughts, and then he turned fiercely on the kidneys themselves. Then with a sigh he betook himself to the pile of other letters—many of them on scented paper and in delicately coloured envelopes, on the top of which the circular had happened to be. On investigating the pile, he found one missive which was not on scented paper nor in a delicately coloured envelope. It was sealed with a large seal, and had an official-looking signature in the corner. He knew the handwriting—it was from the bishop himself. This was something more important than the kidneys, so Mr. Lorner thrust his plate away, finished his cup of coffee, and threw himself into a reading chair with the letter in his hand.

Private and confidential.

My dear Sir,—You will, I believe, receive by the same post with this a letter from me, addressed, at his request, to the Rev. Archdeacon —, on the subject of what is called sacramental confession and absolution, and which I think it right to communicate to the clergy holding cure of souls, licences, or residing in my diocese.

I need not add anything to the general statement of my views which is contained in that letter. But I am anxious to say a few words to you in particular on the subject, as you are one of those whose names have been laid before me as endeavouring to introduce among our people the practices which I, in common with all my right reverend brethren, deeply regret, and am sincerely resolved to withstand to the utmost of my power and influence, the practice of habitual confession and personal direction.

I think that I need not explain further what I mean, and that you will hardly question the fact as stated above. Should there have been any want of accuracy in the information furnished me, I shall be very

glad to hear that it is so. Should you desire to enter into any explanations, or to take my advice on any particular point, I shall be at home for the next ten days, and shall be very glad to see you at any time here. We shall be able to give you a bed if you like to stay a night or two. Do not, I beseech you, turn away from the remonstrances and invitations of the bishop of the diocese in which you live.

I use the latter expression advisedly, for I do not forget that you hold no cure or preferment in the diocese. I understand that you have been in Shotterton for some time, but my secretary tells me that there has been some unaccountable delay in any application on your part, or on that of Mr. Merton, for any licence for you as curate. You have, however, as I understand, frequently officiated. I need only add, that I shall be very happy to licence you as a curate to Shotterton, though in that case I should be glad to have some previous explanation from you as to your views on certain points.

I remain, dear sir,

Yours affectionately in Christ,

WILLIAM D—.

The Palace, D—, August 27, 1873.

CHAP. XXIX.—A CONSULTATION.

MR. LORNER was perfectly aware that the last part of the bishop's letter contained an implied complaint and an implied threat. Ritualists have odd notions about the independence of priests, but it struck even Mr. Lorner that if the bishop really felt himself charged by God with the care of the population of his diocese, he might naturally consider himself entitled to know something about the clergy who were teaching and feeding his flock. He had himself kept out of the bishop's way, and had no intention of applying for a licence, saying to himself that he was a sort of volunteer, and might work as much and as little as he chose. Those concluding lines, as he understood them, were meant to inform him that he must give up his public appearances, at all events, unless he chose to conform to the terms hinted at. Under such circumstances it would have been natural for most men to run off to the Vicarage and take counsel with Gerald Merton, all the more as a postscript to the letter, which he had not at first noticed, mentioned that the bishop was about to communicate with Mr. Merton on the subject. But Gerald and Mr. Lorner were not now on

such easy terms as formerly. There had been no outward rupture, and Gerald was so very good-natured about everything, matters relating to the church included, that he still let Lorner have his own way. But Mrs. Merton had rather turned against Lorner. She did not like his influence with her girls, and Mrs. Merton was the ruling spirit at the Vicarage. Lorner felt sure that he could not depend on Gerald's backing him up in any resistance that he might wish to make to the implied order of the bishop.

He had lately made rather a friend of Mr. John Wilton, of the Manor. They had a good many interests in common, and John listened with great patience to Lorner's grand schemes for the advancement of the Catholic movement in the Establishment. So, after musing for half-an-hour in his own study, and giving a hasty glance to the scented letters aforementioned, which would by no means have satisfied their writers could they have witnessed it, he set off for John's house, and met him, as it happened, a little outside the gates. Father Miles was with John, and they were both going to call at Mr. North's, but neither the presence of Father Miles nor the fear of delaying their immediate business prevented the impetuous Lorner from pouring out the contents of the letter to his friends.

"It's rather hard, isn't it?" said Lorner.

"Do you mean the doctrine of the letter, or the reference to yourself?" said Father Miles.

"Well, of course one feels most what applies to oneself," said Lorner. "I am, as it were, contraband—this will be a sort of stigma upon me. I can never satisfy him as to views."

"It would be a severe blow, certainly, to one of us," said Father Miles. "You know that a priest cannot say mass, hear confessions, or preach without the bishop's leave. It is the rule of the Church. No one thinks it strange or complains of it. But you gentlemen do not seem to depend upon your bishops as we do. If I was you, Mr. Lorner, I should go off at once and have it all out with his lordship. He is a kind man at heart, and you see he invites you most affectionately."

"But consider," said Lorner; "he does not understand the Catholic doctrine in the least. He wishes us not to hear confessions, as if we could give absolution without it, and he would be sure to tell me not to encourage my penitents to come to me regularly."

Father Miles looked at the letter again. "No doubt there are here some very unintelligent positions, if I may say so of one who looks at the matter from so very different a point of view from mine. We consider confession a matter of precept, at all events, even if absolution might be, in the nature of things, given without it. Then his lordship seems to me to run a muck at certain things which are mere bugbears—at least which we, who know what the Sacrament of Penance is, can see to be mere bugbears. If confession is good at all, it is good as often as it is required by the presence of sin in the soul, and although one can hardly expect the bishop to know anything about the effects of a sacrament with which he has nothing to do, it can never be received too often, provided there are the proper dispositions. At all events he might be able to understand that confession consists, on the penitent's part, of the exercise of several virtuous acts—sorrow, humility, and the like, and he can never mean that habitual sorrow and habitual humility are bad for the soul. He reminds me of the man who said good works did no harm, so long as there was not too much of them. Then, of course, any distinction between sex and sex and age and age is absurd, though, on the other hand, you must forgive me for saying that we should never allow the use of confession as it seems to be used among you, without any security as to the fitness of the confessor and with no precautions at all against scandal and temptation. And again, as to direction. This good bishop probably knows very little about it, and he imagines that direction involves a sort of hard servitude, and that directors move their penitents as a chess player moves his pieces. But here again, I think, even if he were more intelligent, he would have just cause for complaint. Pray forgive me, but some of your Anglican directors whose proceedings I have come to know of are like the proverbial beggar

on horseback. They almost literally ride people to death. They let them or teach them to make vows of obedience, and bind up their souls by a number of restrictions which would not be tolerated among Catholics. Unfortunately, as soon almost as they find themselves in charge of a soul, their position obliges them to strain all their efforts, not to lead it to perfection, but to keep it back from going elsewhere—in nine cases out of ten from going to Catholicism. But I didn't mean to preach you a sermon, only, so far, the bishop's fear of direction is not unreasonable, though my grounds for saying so are not his. It is a weapon that does immense mischief in unskilful hands, and all unauthorized hands in the work about souls are sure to be unskilful."

"Well," said Lorner, "I am glad to hear what you say, but I hoped for a little more sympathy from you. After all, these are Catholic doctrines which we are defending."

"You have more sympathy than you think," said Father Miles. "You are, as you say, defending Catholic doctrines and practices. If you could introduce your system of confession everywhere you would not, we should say, have the Sacrament of Penance, but you would at all events teach people not to be afraid of it, and to practise a good many virtues besides. Then, again, we naturally feel for those who are run down and persecuted, and as far as the letter of your books goes, unfairly. You have the letter on your side, as every one can see, and, in a community like yours, where people agree to differ on the most momentous points of doctrine, it is hard that there should be an attempt to exclude any that have a real standing-ground in the formularies. It is unconstitutional, and against the bond, and all Englishmen like fair play, and to see men pluckily defending their rights. I think old Archdeacon Wagstaff, with his staunch John Bullism, is likely to win you toleration, after all, if any one can."

The party had now reached Mr. North's, but Mr. Lorner excused himself from going in, and proceeded homewards. He had not got much consolation, but was half inclined to act on Father Miles' advice, and accept his bishop's invitation.

It struck him, as he went up the road, that his Catholic friend had at all events not tried to persuade him to throw up his position in a huff and go over to them. His thoughts were turned in another direction by Miss Rosa Pedallion, whom he met at no great distance from Mr. North's gate. She received his greetings very graciously, and answered his inquiries about her father by saying that she had left him asleep, much better, and was going on her first visit to Mr. North's family since the illness had begun which had given her so much anxiety. Then she hurried on, leaving him in a tumult of conflicting feelings.

Half an hour after she had reached Mr. North's, Mrs. M'Orven drove up. The pony carriage dropped her at the gate, and then went on to some shops in the town. Mrs. M'Orven found the door wide open, and no one stirring. Through the open door and window of the library, which looked into the large garden at the back, she could see Mr. North with Father Miles, and John Wilton talking to Mary and Charlotte over the beehives at the end of the long walk. She was hurrying through, when she saw the door of the morning-room half ajar, and heard music, and a sweet voice singing lowly, and with intense feeling. It was Rosa. Her back was to the door, as she sat at the piano, and Willie North was on his low chair, with his nets, by her side. The poor girl was quite unconscious of the old lady's presence, and she bent her head, with her eyes full of tears, to the blind young man as she sung—

What though thine eyes should lose their light,
Nor hold discourse with mine;
They still to me would be as bright
As stars through frost that shine!

Willie laid down his net and stretched out his hand. Mrs. M'Orven was moving on, when the rustle of her gown betrayed her. Rosa started up, and in a moment her face, burning with confusion, was buried on the old lady's shoulder. "Others may have something to say to it," said Mrs. M'Orven, as she stroked her face fondly.

*On the Decision of the Holy Office on
Abyssinian Orders.*

(A LETTER TO THE EDITOR.)

DEAR FATHER COLERIDGE,—The great attention which Canon Estcourt's work on Anglican Ordinations has so justly received, and the masterly treatment of a grave and complicated question which is manifest in it, only add to my embarrassment when, cordially accepting, as I do, everything else I have found in his work, I feel bound on one point to recede from his opinion. His interpretation of the decision on the Abyssinian Orders, is, I believe, a mistake; and it is the more necessary to direct attention to it at present, because many are perplexed by a view that not only excludes an argument long relied on by our ablest controversialists, but even affects our notions of the sacramental forms. The point at issue between us is very simple. He believes that the three words, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, are defined to be a valid form in the ordination of priests—at least, in Abyssinia.¹ I, on the contrary, am satisfied that no such definition was intended.

The question of Abyssinian Orders is very old—almost as old as the opinion of Soto, that the essential matter and form of the sacrament consist in the delivery of the instruments of sacrifice and the words that accompany them, *Accipe potestatem*, &c., and not, as is generally held, in the imposition of hands and the words, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, &c., or their equivalent. On the strength of this opinion, the Latin missionaries in Abyssinia, Egypt, and among the Maronites, thought that ordinations to the

¹ *Question of Anglican Ordinations*, p. 191.

priesthood by the Oriental rites, in which this matter and form were not found, were invalid, or at least doubtful. They consequently re-ordained conditionally such schismatical priests as came to them for admission to the Church; and this practice appears to have been continued up to the close of the seventeenth century, much to the indignation of those of the Oriental rite, who asserted the validity of the rite itself. In 1704, a case was sent from Abyssinia to the Holy Office for decision, which, divested of irrelevant matter, amounted to this: The ordination is conferred by the Archbishop hurriedly imposing hands on an immense multitude of *ordinandi* to the priesthood, and, at the same time, pronouncing the words, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*. The answer to this inquiry was—"The ordination of a priest with the imposition of hands and *the pronouncing* (prolatio) of the form, as in the *dubium*, is valid."

If we are to read the judgment of a tribunal such as the Holy Office, in the same way as we should any ordinary affirmation, it must be admitted that the interpretation given by Canon Estcourt is the most obvious and natural. But it is well known to those who are familiar with the practical working of such decisions, that they are only interpreted with safety in the light of certain rules which arise out of what is called the *stylus curiæ*. This *stylus* is so peculiar, that those who do not make allowance for it, are disposed to suspect theologians of trifling with the meaning of plain words, or explaining away an obvious assertion. It is not pleasant to take upon oneself the liability to such an imputation, but I believe the question itself is of sufficient interest to justify the hazard.

In the first place the *stylus curiæ* requires that, to understand the exact meaning of a decision, no matter how clearly set forth, we should know the nature of the difficulty or *dubium*, as it was understood by the tribunal or congregation that had to decide upon it. Next, nothing but the direct proposition in its nudest and severest sense, as distinguished from indirect propositions, the grounds of the decision, or implied statements, is ruled by the

judgment. The latter may be the opinions of the individual members of the court, the former alone is its decision. Also, if there is anything in the wording of a decision which appears inconsistent with the teaching of an approved body of theologians, such teaching as amounts to a true theological probability, the decision is to be interpreted so as to leave such teaching intact, unless the decision should itself show that it intended to condemn that teaching and to take away that probability. Then the decision is understood to be arrived at by the application of certain maxims of canon law, which point to judicial sentences; such, for instance, as *standum est pro valore actus*, and *quod factum est, rite factum esse præsumendum, nisi de contrario constet*. When judgment, moreover, is to be pronounced on the validity of a mode of ordination conferred according to a rite different from the Roman, it amounts to a rule that the judgment is to be formed by an inspection of the ordinal; and, by the principles of canon law just stated, it is to be presumed that the ordinal was followed, unless the contrary is made evident. In a case sent to Rome in 1578 by the Maronite missionaries, it was stated that no form was used in the ordination of priests. The missionaries received an answer that they should send the pontifical to the Pope, as, without it, "no judgment could be formed, . . . whereas, the rites and ceremonies being examined, the whole question could be more easily settled." Assemani highly praises the prudence of this reply, and he adds very pertinently—"The only method of being able to judge of the validity of a sacrament is to know the rituals; which, if some theologians and missionaries had known, they would not have judged so readily against the rites of the Eastern Church. Further, as the most accurate theologians show, they would not have excited such controversies, with so much discord of opinions on the matter and form of Orders according to the rite of the holy Roman Church."² Lastly, it is hardly safe to allege the authority of a decision (I speak merely of a curial decision), particularly when the details of the case are but imper-

² *Controversia Coptica*, p. 2, c. i., n. 1.

fectly known to us, without having ascertained the sense in which, after its promulgation, it was understood by those who were most competent to measure its importance.

If this be so, it may be asked—How can anything be proved from such a decision? I answer something, though not much. The court would not intend that a practical rule of procedure should be an element of demonstration in speculative inquiries. And it is well that it should be so, for the dignity of religion requires that the Church, which constantly guides her ministers through the ever-recurring perplexities of their office, should reserve definitions on matters of revelation for her most solemn utterances.

Applying these rules to the question before us, we find that in the decision there is no direct assertion that the form consists in these words as they stand—*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*. There is a statement of the sufficiency of the imposition of hands in its connection with the *prolatio formæ*. The decision may suppose or imply that the form consisted in these words. The mode of expression may or may not be equivalent to a direct statement; but it is not so in definitive authority. If the tribunal had desired to *define* the words of the form, unless I am mistaken, it would have said, the ordination with the imposition of hands and the words, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, as in the doubt, is valid.

With regard to the nature of the decision which those who presented the question desired to obtain, they described the hurried, confused, and reckless way in which an immense multitude of priests and deacons were ordained, and then they ask whether those ordained in such a manner and form (*in tal modo e forma*) were validly ordained? This seems to show that there was a doubt concerning the form, if, indeed, the word means the sacramental form, and not the fashion of the whole proceeding. But it does not appear whether the question was as to the validity of these words themselves, supposing them to be altogether separated from the rite of which they made a part, or presuming the rite to have been observed, or to have been deviated from only so far as

is shown in the case put forward, was it that the form so applied was nevertheless sufficient for the validity of the sacrament? The distinction is important; for in the former hypothesis, the words of the form would themselves have been put before the court for definition; in the latter, either the old question of the tradition of the instruments as opposed to the imposition of hands would have been the difficulty, or, perhaps, an irregularity that is noticeable in the way the form was pronounced. In the former supposition, Canon Estcourt's interpretation would be highly probable; in the latter, no definition, as he understands it, would have been intended. We may gather some light on this point from the *Controversia Coptica*, by Joseph Simon Assemani.

In the year 1730, the Congregation of Propaganda, under whom the ecclesiastical affairs of Abyssinia had recently been placed by the Holy See, desiring once for all to settle the difficulties that for more than a century had beset the recognition of Orders conferred by the Coptic rite, appointed Assemani to examine and report on the whole matter. No one could be found so admirably fitted for the work. By birth a Maronite, he was educated at the Maronite College in Rome, and in the year 1704, he was of age and ability to give assistance in the investigations which then engaged the attention of Orientalists. When thirty years old, he was sent to Egypt and Syria on a literary and ecclesiastical mission, and returned to Rome with a great number of liturgical works, many of them from Abyssinia. Cardinal Mai, who, at the end of the fifth volume of the *Nova Collectio*, publishes the *Controversia*, thus speaks of him and of his report—"After the Coptic codices I have appropriately placed the lucid dissertation in Italian of Joseph Assemani, in which, with his rare and almost incomparable wisdom, he has treated of the Copts, and of the rite of ordination to the sacerdotal orders among them; which treatise affords the fullest light on the gravest theological questions concerning the sacraments, and the rites and history of the Greek and Oriental Church."³ I think I may

³ P. 31.

therefore safely allege the authority of this treatise as to the facts and theology with which the question is complicated.

In the first place it makes quite evident that the ordinations conferred by the schismatical Archbishop, were administered in the Coptic language according to the Alexandrian ordinal;⁴ and that, up to 1731, there was no serious reason to believe that the Abyssinian prelates had receded from or corrupted that rite, so as to make the validity of Orders doubtful. If such a suspicion had any weight on Rome while Assemani was there, it is certain he would have mentioned it in a report like this, which claims to vindicate the then existing Orders from every doubt. So far from it, he entirely relies on the ordinal for his proof of their validity. Next, the forms given by Ludolf and Mgr. Bel are but mutilated copies of that given by Assemani as used in Abyssinian ordinations up to his own time, and of which he proves the validity by the soundest theological arguments.⁵ This form contains the crucial expressions omitted in the copies. We find in it, adopting Assemani's translation, the following—"Qui ad Presbyteratum admissus est; *Reple cum Spiritu Sancto . . . et regat populum tuum in puro corde . . . et opera sacerdotis super populum tuum perficiat.*"

It may be asked, how did the words *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum* find their way into the Abyssinian rite? I can only understand that they are a translation of the Coptic words, another translation of which I have put in italics. The Latin missionaries translated it as in the Latin rite. What, then, could have been their difficulty? First, probably, that the delivery of the instruments of sacrifice had no place in the ordination; next, that in the manner of using the matter (the imposition of hands), and in the utterance of the form, the prescribed rite had been deviated from. In the rite, the bishop is instructed to impose hands on each *ordinandus* while he repeats for each the whole form; according to the account given in the case, he

⁴ Cf. Examination of Tecla Maria, c. vii., n. 3, &c.

⁵ Capp. 4, 5, 6.

seems to have repeated for each only the words *Reple cum Spiritu Sancto*, or *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*. The missionaries might naturally inquire whether Orders conferred *in tal modo e forma* were valid or not, and the Holy Office would undoubtedly reply in the affirmative, but such a difficulty would hardly find a place in a treatise like the *Controversia Coptica*. Moreover, although Assemani does not speak of the decision in 1704, he accounts for the re-ordination of Abyssinian priests in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, solely by the fact that the missionaries had adopted or admitted the probability of Soto's doctrine concerning the matter and form. Surely, if a new difficulty had arisen of real theological moment, and a new decision had been made known, confirming the validity of the Orders he was defending, yet defining a form totally distinct from that which he vindicated, it could not have been unknown to or left unnoticed by him. Nor is it likely that, in a document coming to us under such unquestionable sanctions, we should find a sacramental form put forward in manifest contradiction to so remarkable a decision. I infer, then, that there was no question proposed as to the words constituting the form, and that Assemani knew of no decision settling such a question in any sense different from his own.

I have said, that we are not at liberty to interpret the decision of a Roman tribunal in a sense opposed to any recognized school of theology, unless it intends directly to correct unsound teaching. Whatever else a decision may mean, it does not intend to settle a question adversely to a received opinion, when it does not say so unmistakeably, and must therefore be understood, as the saying is, *salvo canone*.

Now it is the teaching of the Church that a sacrament is a sign expressive of the effect which it works, and theologians tell us that the significance is found in the form as in its most determinate expression. St. Thomas holds that each sacrament is a *species in genere signi sacri*, and that the specific difference is derived from the form of each. "As the form of a natural thing gives it its species, so the form of a sacrament should contain whatever belongs to the

species of a sacrament."⁶ Scotus, the leader of an opposite school, agrees in this with St. Thomas. He says—"The form is a relative, . . . an efficacious sign, showing and exhibiting its correlative, and that which is signified by it."⁷ That is, it expresses specifically the sacramental grace or effect. It is also held as a certain truth, that the validity of a form depends not on the words as they sound, but as they signify that which was intended to be instituted,⁸ as Franzelin puts it; or what the Church intends in conferring the sacrament, according to St. Thomas.⁹ Hence, if this signification of the proper purpose or effect of the sacrament be omitted, then the form is substantially corrupted, and the sacrament invalid. Eugenius the Fourth tells us that by Apostolic tradition the imposition of hands, with the accompanying prayer, is sufficient for the validity of Holy Orders; but he manifestly refers to the prescribed prayer according to some admitted rite.¹⁰ Lugo understands him to teach that, if the priesthood be equivalently expressed in the prayer, this, and nothing less, would be sufficient for the form. And rightly so; for it signifies the only idea that we find common to all the forms that have been recognized by theologians—viz., the power of sacrifice, or the forgiving of sins, which have always been the exclusive offices of the Christian priesthood. This explains what theologians mean when they say that in this sacrament the prayer must be proportioned, or suitable to the order conferred; or, as Lugo has it, that Christ determined that the power given in the Sacrament of Order should be expressed in the form.¹¹ It also explains the complaint

⁶ *Summa*, 3, 72, 4.

⁷ Lib. iv., dist. iii., quaest. ii., schol. i.; *Summa*, 3, l. xiv., 8.

⁸ *De Sacramentis in genere*, Thesis v.

⁹ *Summa*, 3, 64, 8.

¹⁰ *Cap. Presbyter. de Sacramentis*.

¹¹ The words of De Lugo are—"Responderi potest materiam et formam hujus sacramentis modo, quo a Christo fuit institutum, non posse mutari: Christum tamen non determinasse in individuo materiam et formam materialiter sumptas; sed solum voluisse, quod conferretur ordo per aliquod signum sensibile significativum potestatis quæ traditur et per verba hoc ipsum experimentia . . . instituit pro materia ordinis signum sensibile et verba, quæ significant potestatem quæ traditur" (*De Sacramentis*, d. 2, 86). Bellarmine says that as long as the sense—that is, the signification—remains

made against Courayer in the Council of Embrun, in 1727; that, in asserting the validity of Anglican Orders, he taught that "the form of a sacrament need not necessarily express the effect or end for which it was employed."¹²

I have dwelt upon this point, not with the object of showing that the validity of the form in Holy Orders requires a specifying expression of the effect of the sacrament, but to point out that such is the teaching of a great school of theology in the Church. The form, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, does not express the effect of Holy Orders in the required way. The receiving the Holy Ghost may bring with it any of a diversity of operations. The giving the Holy Ghost is rather the grace of Confirmation than of any other sacrament; for the character of Confirmation is the *signaculum* of His mission, as Sanctifier, to the individual soul. Nor is there in His presence, as indicated by the words of the form in question, anything to distinguish the priest from any other Christian.

It is clear, therefore, that the Holy Office is not to be understood to have defined the sufficiency of this form as it

unchanged, no alteration in the words would invalidate a sacrament. He gives a rule, however, by which we may know when the sense is so changed as to nullify the sacrament. "Judicium de his mutationibus, sintne substantiales, accidentales (that is, as he explains, affecting the validity or not) non debere esse mathematicum sed morale, ita ut tunc judicandum sit, sensum verborum conservari, quando audientes intelligunt, et judicant illud significari, quod per integra verba significari solent, etiam si alioqui verba pronuntientur valde corrupte" (*De Sacramentis*, l. i., cap. xxi.). Suarez teaches that an equivocal form—that is, a form having two significations, one sacramental and the other non-sacramental—may be valid, but for this he requires that the sacramental signification should be clearly and distinctly expressed, and that the adjuncts should show the right intention of the minister. "Nam illa verba in ea significatione sunt synonyma cum verbis formæ, et in ea proferuntur; ergo sic referunt eundem sensum; ergo sufficiunt ad substantiam sacramenti" (*Disput.* ii., sed. 4, 8). From this it follows, that to judge of the validity of a form, we should compare it with that in the rite, and see whether it retains its full signification. The above extracts, it is right to say, refer directly to the sacraments which confer a character on the soul. There are special difficulties with regard to some of the other sacraments which it would be beyond my purpose here to deal with.

¹² *Collectio Lacensis*, t. i., pp. 698, 718.

stands, since by so doing it would have put aside a constant maxim of procedure which all the Roman tribunals have wisely imposed upon themselves, and would force us to abandon a point of theological tradition which some of the wisest and greatest of our standard authorities have bequeathed us; but the Holy Office is to be understood to have defined that the tradition of the instruments of sacrifice was not necessary for the validity of the ordination, or else, that a deviation from the Coptic Ordinal, as laid before it in the case proposed by the Abyssinian missionaries, was not sufficient to invalidate the orders so conferred.

Lastly, I know of no writer of any weight who has understood this decision in the way in which Canon Estcourt receives it. Assemani admits no other form in the Abyssinian Orders than the old prayer in the Coptic ritual accompanying the second imposition of hands. Benedict the Fourteenth and St. Alphonsus, the two greatest authorities who, since the beginning of the last century, have written on the form of the sacraments, simply ignore it. The Council of Embrun sanctions its virtual condemnation. It has left no mark, as in the view of Canon Estcourt it should have done, on theological language concerning the sacramental forms. I believe, therefore, that in the light of the *criteria* which should guide us in such a matter we cannot follow the interpretation of the learned author of this the latest and, on the whole, the most painstaking treatise on the nullity of Anglican Ordinations.

I remain very sincerely yours,

J. JONES.

St. Bruno's College, Oct. 17, 1873.

Reviews and Notices.

1. *La Persecution en Lithuanie et particulièrement dans le Diocèse de Vilna.*
Traduction du Polonais, revue et précédée d'une Preface. Par le R. P.
Lescœur, de l'Oratoire. Paris, 1873.

WHEN a conquered nation has become the prey of tyranny and oppression, other countries in Europe have generally been quick to protest against the wrong, while they have frequently taken more active measures in behalf of the vanquished people. Russia, however, has so artfully veiled her dealings with Poland that she has in a measure eluded the vigilance which in other cases has been prompt to decry unjust severity. She has not hesitated to employ force and cruelty in her government of the Poles, but she has cunningly contrived to retain a semblance of authority and magnanimity, at the same time casting upon them the odium of insurrection and disloyalty. From the time of the Empress Catharine, the policy has been steadily pursued of crushing and endeavouring to exterminate from Poland the Catholic faith, but the most subtle means have been resorted to for the attainment of this object. Persecution is no longer in favour, modern civilization affects to have banished it, consequently some other name must be found as a cloak for its atrocities. Modern persecution, it is true, says very little about faith or worship; the idol of the present day is adorned with garments called law, order, justice, government. But well meaning people, who enjoy the pleasant dream that persecution has ceased in this enlightened age, will perceive that it has only changed its ensign, if they will look beneath the surface of Russia's dominion over her Catholic subjects.

A study of this subject may be greatly facilitated by glancing at Father Lescœur's account of Russian devices for converting the Lithuanian peasantry to the orthodox Church. The simple peasantry were flattered and cajoled by grants of land wrested from their nobles, while in all disputes, favour was shown to the lower orders. After a time they came to be considered ripe for the final *coup*, which would be achieved somewhat in the following fashion. The peasants would be collected together in large numbers, surrounded by Cossacks and armed soldiers, instruments of punishment and torture being ostentatiously produced. It

must be observed that the so-called orthodox clergy scarcely appear on the scene. No allusion is made, as yet, to dogmatic questions, there is no appearance of any attempt at conversion. On the contrary, the harangues are of a political nature, and delivered by the military commanders, agents, and members of the police, many of whom profess no faith at all. The principal theme of these discourses would be the clemency of the Emperor, his favour in delivering the peasants from the tyranny of the nobles, and in granting them the property of the latter. They would be told that such beneficence called for gratitude, then they would be urged to afford a proof of it by uniting themselves with him in the orthodox faith.

The peasants, in reply, might express their sense of the Emperor's bounty, with much love and respect for his person, then they would point out that their gratitude was evinced in the payment of taxes, voluntary compliance with the military recruiting, and by a careful fulfilment of all their duties as subjects, but that they wished to adore and serve God according to the precepts of the holy Catholic Church. Such scenes were terminated by crafty subterfuge, then by threats and cruelty. Upon one occasion the military commander, Chowanski, placing himself before a group of peasants, reproached them for not praying for the Emperor. They declared that they prayed for him both at church with their priests, and at home. "Very well," was the answer, "pray now." The unsuspecting peasants fell on their knees at once and prayed. While they were kneeling thus in prayer, Chowauski had candles distributed to them. Suddenly he desired them to stop praying, and passing to and fro amongst the men still on their knees, congratulated them as having become orthodox from the moment that they had prayed for the Emperor while holding in their hands candles that had been blessed in a Russian church. Secretaries were then hastily summoned to inscribe their names on the registers of orthodoxy, while in spite of tears and protestations, soldiers with their arms and Cossacks with their whips, drove them to enter the Russian church. There they were received by the "popes," who forced them to confirm their adhesion by giving them communion, or by reading again the registers on which their names had been inscribed. Some few resisted or escaped, but in vain, they were pursued, caught, then flogged and martyred. Some of the men were drenched with cold water, and plunged into an ice well. Women and girls were thrust into the common sewers. Each agent was allowed to follow the bent of his own inclination regarding these victims, practising upon them such barbarous tortures as his cruel inventiveness might suggest.

Enough has been said to illustrate our statement that persecution may have come forth in a new uniform, may have been presented with new colours, and may claim "worldly policy" as a motto, but few can contest the existence of the most rancorous

spirit of persecution, with all its array of brute force and torture. Now that this element is gradually affecting ourselves more and more closely, we can perhaps feel stronger sympathy than ever for the religious oppression of Lithuania; at any rate, it is well we should be armed against so insidious a form of perversion by making ourselves acquainted with the course of policy which has been long pursued towards Catholics in that country. The book we have already quoted carries us through nearly ten years of religious history—on the one side of struggle, suffering, and martyrdom, on the other of bribery, treachery, and tyranny, giving a special account of the diocese of Vilna. The events are not narrated in a vague or sentimental style. The little volume is full of simple facts, giving names and dates in a manner that invites the fullest investigation, yet we question whether any impartial reader could lay it down unmoved by indignation at the base corruption as well as cruelty by which men are either wheedled out of their religion, or denounced as traitors and deprived of all legal protection, with an attempt to cheat them of the martyr's crown. A Government which shrinks from bringing upon itself the odium of religious persecution, can easily denounce bigotry, boast of liberty, and, under cover of the latter, undermine all real toleration.

In 1862 five bishops of the province of Mohilew made an official communication regarding the popular insurrections, representing that the discontent of the people arose from religious causes, that it was provoked by indignation at the cruel persecution of the united Greeks, and their enforced conversion to the orthodox rite. Other abuses were enumerated, such as the law regarding mixed marriages, the attacks made on the splendour of Catholic worship, the alienation of Catholic property, the suppression of convents, religious orders, and churches, the reduction of seminaries, as well as other minor obstacles thrown by Government in the exercise of Catholic worship. The Archbishop, Venceslas Zylinski, through whom this remonstrance was presented to the Emperor, added an expression of willingness to use his own influence and that of his clergy in quelling rebellion, in the event of these just causes of dissatisfaction being removed. We need scarcely record that this appeal was in vain, nor need we add that the archbishop fared the worse for his firm though gentle expostulation. His death, which took place the following year, was the signal for deterioration and dismemberment among the clergy, since, by not permitting the appointment of a successor to the archiepiscopal see, the Government obtained an opportunity of placing in posts of trust those among the clergy whom it had first won to its own cause by bribery and corruption. In fact, one of the favourite weapons in the hands of the tyrants was to lower the clergy in the estimation of the people. Every insult was heaped upon those priests who remained faithful—they were impoverished, imprisoned, even beaten. Still viler arts were resorted to in order

to deprive the Catholic body of the support and strength afforded them by their clergy. Systematic attempts were made to debase and corrupt the whole order, thus holding them up to the contempt and reprobation of the faithful. It will readily be understood that Government could very speedily compass an appearance of this degradation among the clergy; since it assumed the right of filling up benefices, it would not be long ere its own tools would be at least among the more conspicuous of the priesthood. Here is the kind of ecclesiastic whom such officials and commanders as Mouravieff delighted to honour.

Antoine Niemeksza, in 1863, filled the post of administrator of the parish church of St. John, and of visitor of convents. Ever inclined to curry favour with the authorities, he at once took the fancy of Mouravieff. The general's piercing eye at once perceived that a man of brilliant acquirements and talents, of lax conduct, a drunkard, greedy of honour and riches, would become a valuable instrument in skilful hands. At once then Mouravieff began to make use of him for the execution of his plans. He sent him to the political prisons to hear the prisoners' confessions, to entice admissions from them, to assist the condemned, and accompany them to the place of execution in the Faubourg de Lukiszki. Sometimes he was charged with distant missions. At night he might be seen travelling under the escort of police and gendarmes, visiting presbyteries, convents, and simple priests. He was dreaded as a bird of ill omen, for wherever he stopped his course was tracked by the arrest of a priest, the closing of a convent, the dispersion of religious of both sexes, or by the levying of taxes and compensations. At other times he might be seen fraternizing with political agents, consulting with them, insisting upon reports and denunciations, or passing time in orgies with ecclesiastics whom he had perverted, who had first been despoiled by him, basely deceived, and then lost. The attack made upon him in the political prison by a man named Bankowski, who at his persuasion had declared himself guilty of an attempt at assassinating Domeyko, marshal of nobility in the Government of Vilna, and soon afterwards, regretting his avowal, which did not save him from the gallows, threw himself upon Niemeksza with a filed nail, furnished him with a pretext for asking and obtaining a reward commensurate with his zeal and devotion. Indeed, General Mouravieff, who rewarded himself munificently as well as his satellites, began to shower honour and wealth upon the Abbé Niemeksza, conferring upon him the order of St. Anne of the second class, decorated with the imperial crown, raised him to the dignity of a prelate without even consulting the diocesan authority, granted him for life the house formerly belonging to the Franciscan Fathers, with a revenue of two thousand roubles, and what flattered his self-love still more, desired the soldiers to present arms to him as to a general. It is needless to add that he allowed him to appropriate a great part of the booty obtained by pillaging the churches or convents, or the property of those exiled to Siberia, and of those who had died on the way to Siberia (p. 13).

From such a specimen as Niemeksza, it can be imagined which of the clergy were likely to obtain pre-eminence under the Russian rule. The treatment of those priests who were faithful

to their trust will afford a contrast sufficiently striking. Father Lescoeur's book gives us a list of the priests condemned to death, while the diocesan authorities were not even informed of it till after their execution. Solemn functions in Catholic churches were prohibited, as well as funeral honours or processions. Freedom in preaching or teaching the Catechism was forbidden, as also the repairing of churches, chapels, and cemeteries. What wonder if the priests who could retain office by compliance with such laws were by no means those who would win the confidence of the people? However, the lowering of the clergy in public estimation was exactly the result aimed at by Government. The account before us is so succinct and unimpassioned, that we may allow ourselves rather a long quotation showing the fate of those priests whose conscience forbade them to follow in the wake of Abbé Niemeksa—

The poor priests were not spared from public humiliations nor the coarsest ridicule. At official presentations, when the various states assembled at the palace, the Governor General so contrived that after saluting every one, he should turn last of all to the small group of ecclesiastics. General Kaladeïeff insulted them at every opportunity. The Governor General von Kaufmann sent officers of state to all districts with a special commission to visit churches, parishes, and presbyteries. One of these gentlemen, speaking in an official report, of a priest in the district of Taki, thus expresses himself—"It is true he has not committed any fault, but he has a suspicious countenance." This was more than enough to make General Kaufmann banish the priest at once from his parish. Another wrote in his report that "the priest while hearing confessions was seated in his confessional and did not rise while the prayer for the Czar was being chanted." This accusation caused the priest to be exiled to Russia. Another, Lieutenant-Colonel Sambykine, went to and fro in the district of Poniewiez, in the government of Kowno, and insulted the priests in their own houses; still further, and this is an incontestable fact, he even struck some and despatched them with their servants and the wives of the latter to the head-quarters of the district, where he ordered them to await his arrival. The people being devoted to their religion, when they saw what happened, followed the carriages which conveyed their priests, the number of the faithful increasing as they passed along. So that the priests of the district, their servants, and the peasantry, amounting to several thousands, were all assembled in one spot. Finally Sambykine arrives; he brings musicians to the public "place" of Poniewiez, orders the priests to be placed in one line, opposite to a row of women, orders the music to strike up, and commands the priests to dance with the women. At the sight of this vile outrage, the people, seized with horror, threw themselves upon Sambykine, and God only knows the fate reserved for him, but for the honourable local commander of military, who interfered in time to rescue him from the hands of the exasperated people. He arrested him publicly, demanded his sword, and persuaded the populace to retire, at the same time sending the priests home. The scene now changes, but the drama is not concluded. The military commander conveys Sambykine from the market-place to his own house. A lively conversation ensues. Sambykine reproaches the commander

for his interference ; the latter excuses himself by saying that his only intention was to save him. Sambykine is angry at being publicly arrested ; then the commander represents to him the consequences of his behaviour ; death, or at least bloodshed, and the dispute becomes violent. Meantime, the commander's wife, not yet recovered from her confinement, can hear in a room adjoining that her husband, generally so calm and gentle, is getting excited in the discussion, and fearing for the result, she leaves her chamber, but weakness gets the better of her, she stumbles on the threshold and falls beneath the two antagonists. Sambykine retires, still furious, and leaves the town. The commander gave in his report to the Governor General and awaited his reply ; he waited on until his wife died and he became destitute himself. As for Sambykine, completely justified, he continued his exploits unmolested, seeking fresh laurels (p. 43).

It was worth while to complete the story, in order to prove that these acts of wanton insult and tyranny were fully supported by the authorities, not, as is sometimes urged, the mere outbreaks or excesses of underlings. Perhaps this story may only meet with its full mead of indignation from those who understand the deep reverence entertained towards the priesthood by pious Catholics, but all generous natures must be disgusted at an unprovoked and useless insult aimed at the deepest and most holy feelings of humanity. We have said, however, that by outraging these sentiments the Russian Government hoped to blunt the better instincts of the people, and so win them from their allegiance to the Catholic faith ; but we will once more let our author speak for himself—

In order to loosen, or rather to break the sacred ties which bound the ecclesiastics to their parishes and to the faithful, still further means were resorted to. Thus those priests who had taken the oath were sent one after the other, either to take the administration of other parishes, or to perform the function of curates. Those parish priests who were advanced in age were deprived of their curates, in order that the exercise of their ministry might become almost an impossibility. As for the curates, they were hunted from place to place, to deprive them of a chance of accustoming themselves to any one neighbourhood, to impoverish and to discourage them. Hence, owing to these tactics, all ecclesiastics were displaced ; many among them had been constrained to resign entirely their parochial duties ; some remained without shelter in the large towns, others resided with their own families while waiting till some appointment was found, or rather invented for them. At Vilna there was a Carmelite monastery, with a church, under the invocation of All Saints, which served as a refuge for a few aged monks and for several of the secular clergy who had fallen into disgrace. Into this monastery were cast all priests deprived of their charge on account of their zeal. There might be seen the rector banished from his parish, and beside him the curate who, not quite overpowered by his wandering life, laboured with fresh zeal when removed to a new post. There also one might behold the priest who each day sacrificed many hours to his penitents ; one who had continued to teach the Catechism, who laboured with zeal in the service of our Lord, and watched over the faithful with devotion ; one whom the

people respected, and who enjoyed a certain popularity. They were all cast into this gloomy and unhealthy monastery, where each occupied but a small chamber, sometimes, even, only the corner of one. No one took any heed as to their nourishment or requirements. Inclosed already within the bolts of the monastery, they were still further shut up in their cells like prisoners: they were not even allowed to go to church. It was, in fact, a prison for ecclesiastics. Placed under the immediate authority of the prelate, Niemeksa, it was soon, thanks to him, in such a state, that prisons intended for thieves and assassins afforded more health and comfort. According as the number of ecclesiastics who were the victims of persecution was ever on the increase, so also did the number of these terrible prisons increase (p. 46).

We have given much space to the treatment of the clergy, because herein consisted the base policy of the Russian Government, who, by attacking the root of the tree, trusted to the speedy withering of the branches. Still more did they hope, by heaping insults upon the clergy, to expose them to contempt, and thus to alienate the reverence and affection of the people. But the laity were not in any sense spared in the brutal persecutions; nor were they backward in their constancy to the faith. Many a mother would traverse by-ways and forests to avoid the public road in carrying her infant to be baptized by some faithful priest. Often would she carry her babe exposed to cold, snow, and all the rigours of a bitter climate, rejoicing that at such a cost she might bring it home duly baptized; but often, alas! the poor mother would return from her journey clasping in her arms a poor frozen little corpse, her child already an angel in heaven. Too frequently, however, success did not crown these heroic efforts. Ere the ceremony could be performed, agents of police would burst into the church, and spite of the parents' tears and despair, would carry the infants off to be baptized according to the Russian rite. Father Lescœur gives names of places and people, as well as dates, for the sake of accuracy, but at the same time he assures us that horrors worse than we have named pervaded the entire country. He gives statistical lists of churches and religious houses closed, and of the laws made for the suppression or gradual annihilation of Catholic worship. He withholds no detail which could authenticate his statements; and when we remind our readers that his history dates from 1863, and carries us so far as the year 1872, we need hardly say more about the spirit of persecution being still alive and strong.

2. *Histoire de la Constitution Civile du Clergé (1790—1801)*. L'Eglise et l'Assemblée Constituante. Par Ludovic Sciout. Tome i. et ii. Paris, 1872.

We have seldom met a work that throws more light than this on the causes of the lamentable *fiasco* of the French Revolution, and of the repulsion its principles, memories, and watchwords excite

in the breast of every earnest Catholic. As we learn from the author's introduction, his purpose in telling once more an oft-repeated tale, is to set in relief an important episode in the history of the closing decade of the last century, which is kept in the background by those who are ever dinning in our ears the "glorious principles of '89," and summoning the Church Catholic to the frank acceptance of the social and political order based upon them. Their reticence on an enactment which occupied so large a share in the deliberations of the first and second revolutionary legislatures, which agitated France even to its most obscure mountain hamlets, may be partly accounted for by the fact that of the works of the Revolution none is so thoroughly dead and buried. The Revolution has unquestionably triumphed, it has, we are content to own, swept away many a crying abuse, cleared off the *débris* of many a decrepit institution out of joint with the times. The gulf which separates the France of to-day from that of eighty years ago is full as wide as that between Roman Gaul and the France of the Carlovingians, yet against all this we must score one colossal failure. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy has not left even a trace in the institutions of the country it shook to its very centre, and the panegyrists of the Great Revolution, the adulators of the monsters it heaved up to the surface, withhold the tribute of a single flower of their rhetoric from its forgotten tomb. Thus, though in a very true sense the book before us be a history of the Revolution, its readers will not fail to discover that the author has marked out for himself a new and unbeaten path. Wherefore then, may it be asked, renew the memories of a bygone conflict?

We reply, the records of history are lessons of experience for nations and those that guide their destinies, and what is more to the point, it is useful for all parties to consider the woes occasioned by anti-religious hate, by doctrines as to the relations of Church and State more or less explicitly invoked by contemporary publicists and statesmen, and the adoption of which has, but within the last few months, inaugurated an era of persecution in more than one Continental State.

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy was the formal declaration of the war still raging between Catholicity and modern Liberalism, the first practical application of its theories on liberty of conscience. On this point, more than all else, Governments are to be judged by deeds not words, which, in accordance with Talleyrand's well-known *dictum*, serve too often to mask the most insolent and grinding oppression. The apostles of tolerance, the eloquent advocates of religious freedom, of respect for the consciences of their fellows, were at length invested with sovereign power—rather, with a quasi-omnipotence—backed by an enthusiastic popularity which has fallen to the lot of no other legislative assembly. All at once, they set to work to fashion a new religion, to impose on the consciences of pastors and people the adoption

of a Catholicity, revised, amended, and somewhat curtailed by themselves. To overcome a resistance they might have foreseen, they pass from the craft and violence of the Arian autocrats against the orthodox, to enactments worthy of a Diocletian, in order to bolster up a religion in which they, its inventors, had no faith. For, as the author gives proof, religious persecution began in France in 1790, it is not an incident solely of that organized cannibalism known as the "Reign of Terror." Rather may it be questioned whether such a period of blood and shame would ever have stained the annals of France, were it not for the social disorganization wrought by the measures of persecution passed to prop up the bran new National Church. But what was the Civil Constitution of the Clergy? Mignet, in his now forgotten *History of the Revolution*, gives us one of its factors. "They were not philosophers of the school of Voltaire, or of the writers of the *Encyclopædia*, but austere Christians, inspired with the zeal of restoring to the Church the purity and lustre of the primitive ages." In plain language, a Jansenist coterie—of the same ilk as the bishop who the other day gave a sacrilegious consecration to the Breslau professor, Reinkens—who thought by practising on the anti-religious passions of a portion of French society to make the Church of France their creature and slave. To them belongs the credit of the ground plan. It was eagerly adopted by the infidel party, and improved upon by them, in the hope of forcing it upon the country by the help of men who were soon to be known as the Jacobins, a French equivalent for the Orange faction. Mirabeau, the Calvinist Barnave, and Robespierre, clubbed together to plant a schism in France. Detestable in its principles, according to which the clergy were but State officials, the Church but a function of the civil power, by the law of November 27, 1790, imposing the Constitutional oath on all members of the clergy engaged in the sacred ministry, it proscribed the outward exercise of the Catholic religion. As in another neighbouring country, in days not long gone by, the authorities either sanctioned or mildly rebuked every brutal outrage the frenzied rabble chose to inflict on clergymen, religious ladies, and Catholic women, who refused to take part in the official worship. Attachment to the Constitution, loyalty to the newly-constituted authorities, like charity, covered a multitude of sins, even the public infliction of shameful stripes on helpless women.

For a Catholic to refuse the oath to the Constitution, and adhesion to a law organizing schism, was to renounce his political status, the protection of the law, to invite espionage, to incur the note of disaffection to the new order of things. We have heard the same changes rung elsewhere on the words "loyal" and "disloyal." As elsewhere, too, the violence of the mob against such as dared to have a conscience, was made a pretext for curtailing the slender modicum of freedom of worship allowed to Catholics, and for greater severity against the non-juring priests.

The struggle thus embittered divided more and more the party of orderly freedom, and left France at the mercy of those who were so soon to inaugurate a reign of blood. The unhappy King, by refusing his Constitutional sanction to decrees wherein the persecution of the non-juring clergy stopped short only of bloodshed, precipitated the crisis, and lost his throne and his life. He was soon followed to the scaffold by the faction, who, for the gratification of its anti-religious fanaticism, had stirred up the rabble and set the example of mob despotism and proscription. The new-fangled Church, identical in principle with that established in our own favoured land, minus its plain-spoken renunciation of the Pope and all his works, had about that time served its purpose, left the divided and distracted country an easy prey to the Jacobin faction, and was by them abolished. Many of its bishops and clergy made open renunciation of Christianity, its altars served as a pedestal to the goddess of reason, its temples were ransacked and defiled in a way we may take some notion of by the abominations the red-shirted ruffians, who fought and fled at Mentana, committed in the house of prayer when surprize had helped them to a passing success. We may add in conclusion, that the author preserves all along the calm tone of judicial impartiality, and that his assertions are all justified by the official documents which he quotes or refers to.

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3. *Jesuits in Conflict*; or Historic Facts illustrative of the labours and sufferings of the English Mission and Province of the Society of Jesus in the times of Queen Elizabeth and her successors. First series. London: Burns and Oates.

The history of the Reformation, and still more that of the struggles of our Catholic forefathers against a movement which, having shattered the unity of faith and prayer, would have isolated them from fellowship with the Churches of Christendom, nay, even from the glorious past of their own country, remains yet to be told. Like the Absolute of Fichte, it is *in fieri*, not yet *in esse*. Needless to state the reasons for this deficiency, as many of them will be sufficiently obvious, and, further, they exerted their influence under conditions that are fast drifting into the past. As a religious movement, the Reformation has ceased to energize, the passions it roused are now being calmed down, or rather, are engaged in a far more momentous struggle. The opening of the public archives to general inspection enables the historian to ground his judgments of men and of events on evidence at first-hand, without being obliged to view them through the distorting medium of partizan testimonies. The author of the volume under review has not been slow to avail himself of the opportunity now offered for rescuing from oblivion the heroic deeds, the sacrifices and sufferings of the first Fathers and founders of the English mission and province of the Society of Jesus. The following out

of his plan will supply a want that has long been felt, that of a trustworthy, readable history of the rise and fortunes of the English province. Hitherto, we have had to be content with the History of Father Henry More, which, despite many unquestionable merits, had its drawbacks; it is in Latin, and with the utilitarian tendencies of modern education, the time is fast approaching when one may ask, Who reads Latin? It is necessarily incomplete, and we need not say that the author had no access to the Public Records and to many other sources of valuable information now open to the annalist and historian. We may further observe, that the series of which this work is the first instalment comes most opportunely at a time when Catholic piety is claiming the honours of our altars for those who in dark and evil days loved not their lives even unto the death, and who bore witness to Christ and to His Church in reproach and affliction, by taking joyfully the spoiling of their goods, in bonds and in prisons. Whatever trials may be our present lot, or await us at no distant future, the example of their generous constancy will help to nerve us for the conflict. The present volume contains a brief but complete biographical sketch of Thomas Pounce of Belmont, a convert from Puritanism, who spent no less than thirty years in divers prisons for the Faith; of George Gilbert of Suffolk, the founder of an association of young gentlemen, who equipped and provided for the missionaries, accompanied them and screened them from the argus-eyes of the underlings of the law; of Father Thomas Darbyshire, once a dignitary of the Catholic Church in England, who died in exile for the Faith. Publications of this kind are multiplying among us, as it would seem, with some rapidity.

4. *Marie and Paul.* A Fragment. By "Our Little Woman."
London: Burns and Oates, 1873.

A gifted author, but a child herself, suffering in health, has here presented us with a series of three *tableaux*, childlike pictures of the sacred joys and sorrows of home. The series opens with Paul's first communion; the lowly village church, the simple country folks, the manor-house or *chateau*, with its family circle, are limned with the cunning of a practised hand. The next scene introduces an episode in the late Franco-Prussian war; we assist at family partings, we go with Paul over the field of battle, where he finds the corpse of his brave father, an officer who has received his death-wound while charging at the head of his men; the smiling village is changed into a hospital, sounds of woe, bereavement, and desolation arise on all sides. In the last picture we have the final leave-taking of Paul, who has now reached his manhood. He is going forth as a soldier of the Cross to preach the Gospel in the wilds of America. The book is pervaded throughout with a tone of earnest piety. To all who

read it it will suggest thoughts for which they will be the better, while its graceful and affecting, because simple, pictures of home and family life will excite emotions of which none need be ashamed. We trust that we may meet our author on a future occasion.

5. *The Old Catholics and Dr. Wordsworth.*

Some of the Anglican papers have published a set of Latin verses, addressed by Dr. Wordsworth to the "Old Catholics," who invited him to attend their late "Congress" at Constance. The verses certainly show that Dr. Wordsworth is more at home with Latin elegiacs than with Catholic theology. We give them in a note.¹ The same papers, however, have omitted to insert

¹ Egregio Prasidi C. A. Cornelio ad Concilium Veterum Catholicorum Constantiae habendum benevolè invitanti S. P. D. Christophorus Wordsworth, Episcopus Lincolnensis.

Accipio lætus fraterni pignus amoris,
Et gratæ mentis mutua dona fero.
Atque utinam nobis vos compellere liceret,
Et nos consiliis consociare tuis !
Sed nos ire vetant stringentes undique curæ,
Et gravat officii Pontificalis onus.
Spiritus at liber ponti citò transvolat undas,
Et miscet precibus fervida vota tuis.
Inclyta quâ tollit veteres Constantia turres,
Jam video doctum se glomerare chorum :
Agnosco præsens in te, Constantia, Numen ;
Concilium Nemesis convocat ipsa Tuum.
Tu famosa nimis Synodo, Constantia, sævâ,
Nunc es Concilio nobilitanda pio.
Martyrum ubi quondam maduit tua sanguine tellus,
Nunc seges albescit messis Apostolicæ ;
Ecce ! novo cineres Hussi * fulgore coruscant
Fitque Evangelii fax pyra Martyrii ;
Fragensis† video venerandam surgere formam,
Inque tuo cœtu vivida verba loqui.
Oh ! utinam talis fidei nos excitet ardor,
Accendatque sui flaminis igne Deus !
Tum quisnam tremeret ? quis non audere paratus,
Pro Cruce cuncta foret, pro Cruce cuncta pati ?
Nos omnes utinam pascamur Corpore Christi,
Nos omnes recreet Sanguinis Ille Calix ! ‡
Una Fides, Unus Christus, nos Spiritus Unus,
Unus et unanimes jungat amore Pater !
Sic, ubi transierint mortalia sæcula, Cœli
Nos una accipiat non peritura Domus !
Hæc tibi concordii reddit Lincolnia mente,
Concilioque precans omnia fausta Tuo."

Lincolnia, Nonis Septembribus A.S. MDCCCLXXIII.

* Joannes Hus, igne crematus a Concilio Constantiensi, ob Calicem Laicis vindicatum ; et Martyrio coronatus septimo die mensis Julii, 1415.

† Hieronymus Pragensis pariter a Concilio Constantiensi condemnatus, similiter Martyrio coronatus, 30 die mensis Maii, 1416.

‡ Calix Eucharisticus Laicis interdictus a Concilio Constantiensi (sess. 13).

the equally interesting statement of what Dr. Wordsworth might have said if he had gone to Constance. The kindness of a correspondent enables us to supply the deficiency.

Qualia Veteribus, qui dicuntur, Catholicis, si apud Constantiam consiliantibus interfuisset, "Episcopus" suasisset Lincolnensis.

O veri tandem cultus lucisque ministri,
Queis² vetus est nomen,³ religioque nova,
Accipite hæc, fratres, et cordibus abdite vestris,
Quamquam quæ poterunt fallere verba loquor.
Jam satis ille diu dotes Deus alter⁴ in aris
Voci divinas vindicat ipse suæ.
Cætera dissociant etenim nos omnia; in uno
Hoc sumus unanimes—constat utrinque nihil.
Nec timor est nobis ne decipiamur in illo;
Nos errore etenim posse fatemur agi.
Sancta⁵ Tridentini quid si vos dogmata vultis
Concilio, nobis rejicienda, sequi?
Ludibrio vobis si⁶ uxorius esse sacerdos,
Hæreticum et nomen schismaticumque solet?
Illi⁷ olim si vos flammam mortemque parastis,
Qui docuit, nostri quæ docuere patres?
Hæc nihil intersunt: eadem mens urget utrosque:
Par coeat, sese consocietque pari.
Conjurati ergo solum rescindere Summi
Pontificis, veteres atque iterare vias,
Vobis ut discant alii parere, rebelles
Ipsi jam intretis seditionis iter.
Sit populus pro lege suus, pro numine,⁸ Caesar;
"Unus"⁹ sic "Christus," sic erit "Una Fides."
Quæ quo sit citius, quo sit securius Una,
Ritibus innumeris vos adhibete novum.
Scripturas¹⁰ sibi quisque legat, quo semper eadem
Doctrinâ detur, detur ubique frui.
Quanta etenim hinc nostris concordia regnat in oris!
Unius O quantus religionis amor!
Schismata nam quamvis vigeant ibi plurima,¹¹ Caesar
Nos esse unanimes cogit, amorque¹² lucri.

² Scil. Veteres Catholici.

³ Scil. Neo-Protestantica.

⁴ Scil. Papa, quem "Hominem peccati" esse, "sedentem in templo Dei, tanquam sit Deus," a Divo Paulo, 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4, prædictum, sibi fingit "Episcopus."

⁵ Decreta Concilii Tridentini agnoscere se professi sunt Veteres Catholici, respuit "Episcopus," id quod nihil obstat quominus socium cum illis se conjungat.

⁶ Apostatam Hyacinthum in Synodo Coloniensi ob matrimonium sacrilegum concionari nolebant Veteres Catholici, iidem tamen maritatum "Episcopum" libentissime sinebant.

⁷ Joannes Hus, ab "Episcopo" in versiculis ad Veteres Catholicos scriptis tanquam Martyr collaudatus, ab ipsis tamen Veteribus Catholicis saltem implicite damnatus.

⁸ *Anglice*, the State. Summa illud Veteribus Catholicis est laudi, quod etiam quæ Dei sunt reddere noverunt Cæsari.

⁹ Cf. versiculum "Episcopi," 29.

¹⁰ Privati de S. Scripturâ Judicii exercitium suadet "Episcopus," quo melius Regula Fidei illa "quod semper, quod ubique" servetur.

¹¹ *Anglice*, Establishment.

¹² *Anglice*, Endowment.

Deficiunt nummi? Romanum¹³ expellite vulgus,
 Congestasque diu diripiatis opes.
 Tempia¹⁴ aderunt, tituli,que, alieni et nominis umbra,
 Et¹⁵ populus vestra sub ditione potens.
 Infirmos curare, et opem dare vultis egenis?
 Quo magis hæc vobis ad facienda vacet,
 Conjugium¹⁶ instaurete, et adite negotia mille,
 Uxor quæ secum progeniesque ferunt.
 Hæc nos edocuit jam pridem¹⁷ Henricus, et ardens
 Tu desideris,¹⁸ Elisabetha, piis.
 Sic verâ tandem gens libertate fruatur,
 Divino humanum substituetque jugum.
 Rursus et in terras¹⁹ Saturnia regna redibunt,
 Unaque primævâ cum pietate Fides.

J. T. W.

6. *Theologia Seminariorum Totius Orbis, seu Sancti Thomæ Aquinatis Summa Minor, Tractatibus et Notis ad Concilium Tridentinum et Vaticanum Exacta.*
 Auctore F. Lebrethon, S.P.D., etc. etc. Londini: Burns et Oates. 1873.

"As babes in Christ, I have fed you with milk and not with meat" (1 Cor. iii. 1, 2), is the epigraph adopted by the Angelic Doctor for that stupendous monument of mediæval science, the *Summa*, or summary of the whole of theology, and that there might be no doubt of his wish to be literally understood, he forthwith states that his main purpose is to "treat of what appertains to the Christian religion in a manner suitable to the instruction of beginners." Thus far St. Thomas, in his brief and pithy prologue to a work embracing, together with theology properly so called, the whole range of mental and ethical science. "There were giants in those days." Mental culture must have attained a high pitch, when a man, who had spent his best years in the schools as scholar and master, could compile a hand-book such as this for the "novices," as he calls them—the tyros of the divinity lecture-room. In these days of light we are, perforce, content to let down St. Thomas to the level of ordinary educated minds, and it is to this that the Abbé Lebrethon has devoted his

¹³ Id quod, summâ cum nostratum laude, ipsorum autem emolumento, quum in Angliâ olim Henricus VIII., tum in Italiâ Gubernium fecit Sub-Alpinum.

¹⁴ Ut Hierarchiæ olim Anglicanæ, quæ Catholicorum templa, titulos, ipsius denique nominis umbram est furata.

¹⁵ Attingitur hic vulgaris illa sententia, populos nempe acatholicos prosperâ sapius fortunâ uti, quippe quam veræ religionis discipulis ipse disertis verbis nunquam non pollicitus sit Christus.

¹⁶ Clerum maritatum suadet "Episcopus" utpote Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ideoque Apostolorum, immo et Christi Ipsi exemplo magis conformem.

¹⁷ Rex Angliæ, ejus nominis Octavus, Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Fundator, pudicitia et abstinentia celeberrimus.

¹⁸ Angliæ Regina, quæ non modo consanguineam Mariam, Scotiæ Reginam, sed Catholicos alios plusquam centum ad majorem Dei gloriam curavit trucidandos.

¹⁹ Præmonere incius ipse videtur "Episcopus" posse fieri ut una cum discordi hæc concordia vetus etiam redeat Paganismus.

laborious leisure. That he has done his work well, the flattering commendations of his diocesan, and the Apostolic Brief addressed to him under date of April 30, 1864, do not permit us to doubt. We extract from the latter a few pregnant sentences—

The subversion of all solid principles has engendered that confusion and anarchy in philosophical studies which is the fruitful source of the monstrous aberrations whereby society, no less than religion, is endangered. It is, then, most desirable to restore the place of honour to that sound philosophy the Fathers of the Church have adapted to Catholic teaching, which illumined with the light of revelation, and enriched with the treasures of wisdom from on high, trained for so many ages the minds of Christian generations and shed such lustre on Catholic schools.

7. *The Life of St. Bernardine of Siena.* Oratorian Lives of the Saints.
Second series. London : Washbourne.

Despite certain defects of style and idiom, the first Oratorian series of the Lives of the Modern Saints has wrought incalculable good. It is, then, with no small satisfaction that we see the work started by the illustrious founder of the London Oratory, resumed by the men his lessons and virtues trained. The new series opens with the Life of the famous Franciscan preacher of the fifteenth century, on whom the mantle of St. Vincent Ferrer seems to have fallen. Like this great saint, his special mission was to bring about the reformation of manners so imperatively called for at the close of the unhappy schism of the West. He was also chosen by God to recall his brethren in the Order of St. Francis to a stricter observance of their rule and institute; the Observantine branch of the Franciscan family owes its initiation to our saint. He travelled over the length and breadth of his native land in pursuance of his mission, ever showing himself mighty in word and work. His devotion to the most holy Name of Jesus, and his labours to propagate it, are duly dwelt upon in this work, which is a translation of the Life of S. Bernardino da Siena, by Father Amadeo Maria, Minor Observantine of Venice, edited by Father Costantino Maria of the Ara Coeli Convent. We confine ourselves to one brief extract.

He once made the following answer to a person who, admiring the great repute in which his sermons were held by every one, and the abundant harvest he gathered with them, besought him to teach him the particular rules he observed in pronouncing his discourses, hoping that such a lesson might enable him to render his own preaching useful. "In all my sermons," said Bernardine, "I have ever observed one single rule." The other astonished, and at the same time glad to think that it would be easier to observe one rule than many, again urged the saint to acquaint him with this rule. Bernardine, without hesitation, told him that from the time when he began to exercise the apostolic ministry, he had never said a word save to God's honour and glory, and that this rule, which he had always followed with the

greatest possible care, had alone given him whatever eloquence, fluency, or power he possessed; from it alone he had received the grace of converting to God so many souls who were wandering in their sins out of the road of eternal salvation. What a change of conduct would appear in Christendom if all heralds of the Divine Word faithfully followed this rule! (p. 207).

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8. *A Spiritual Compendium*, in which the difficulties in the way of perfection are explained. By Father Gaspar de la Figuera, S.J. Translated from the Spanish by Mrs. R. Bennett. London: Burns and Oates, 1873.

Three distinct treatises are contained in this work, that named in the title as given above, which serves as a preface or introduction to the Meditations on the Purgative, Illuminative, and Unitive Ways, which constitute the second part. The third treatise consists of a series of dialogues between Christ and the Faithful Soul on the several degrees of prayer. The name of the author, and the numerous editions the work has gone through since its first appearance in 1635, and the translations that have been made of it into many European languages, will dispense us from bearing witness to its excellence. We may, however, observe that the English is idiomatic and simple.

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9. *Nazareth*. By Mrs. Cashel Hoey. London: Burns and Oates, 1873.

This little work opens with a succinct account of the rise and purposes of the Congregation of the Ladies of Nazareth, of their call to labour amid the hallowed scenes their name recalls. Its main object is to excite the charity of English speaking Catholics on behalf of their establishments in several localities of Palestine and Syria, where they have been summoned to take part in the efforts for the spiritual and moral regeneration of women. Their labours seem to have been blessed, despite the material advantages at the disposal of the emissaries of the several Protestant societies, who there, as elsewhere, devote themselves, not to the conversion of the infidel, but to putting obstacles in the path of the Catholic Propaganda by a proselytism that appeals to the cupidity of the needy and ignorant.

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10. *Meditations on the Most Blessed Virgin*. By Most Hon. Brother Philip-Mary, Superior-General of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. Baltimore, 1873.

A manual of meditations composed by the Superior-General for his brethren, but which will prove serviceable to all who would grow in the knowledge and love of her who is so closely connected with the Author of our salvation. The book bears, here and there, evident marks of its being translated from the French, but it must be owned that a good translation is no easy task.

11. *Le Livre de Job*. Traduction sur l'Hébreu et Commentaire, précédé d'un Essai sur le Rhythme chez les Juifs, et suivi du Cantique de Débora et du Psaume cx (109). Par M. l'Abbé le Hir, Professeur d'Écriture Sainte, d'Hébreu, et de Langues Orientales, au Séminaire de Saint Sulpice. Avec Introduction, par M. l'Abbé Grandvaux, Professeur au Séminaire de St. Sulpice. Paris, 1873.

Those of our readers who are acquainted with the *Études Religieuses*, edited by the French Fathers of the Society of Jesus, will not have failed to appreciate the deep and accurate erudition the late Abbé Le Hir brought to bear on the numerous topics of Biblical criticism, and to deplore his late demise as a loss to science. The work now before us is the second instalment of a posthumous edition of his contributions and lectures on his studies of predilection. The editor, in a voluminous Introduction, which would gain by being somewhat condensed, gives a series of able dissertations on Poetry in general, on that of the Bible, on the rhythm of the Hebrew lyrics, on the Book of Job, the Song of Debora, and Psalm cx. (cix. in the Alexandrian and Vulgate versions). The dissertation on Sacred Poetry closes with a remarkably interesting quotation from Herder's *History of Hebrew Poetry*, developing the analogy between the parallelism of sense, and even of sound, which characterizes the inspired songs of the Scriptures, and the epic and elegiac measures of classical poetry. The vexed question of Hebrew rhythm is next exhaustively treated. Those acquainted with Bishop Lowth's work, *De Poesi Hebræorum*, need not be put in mind that, over and above the Biblical scholars, who assert or deny the systematic versification of the sacred canticles, there is a middle party who infer from the state in which the monuments of Hebrew literature have come down to us the utter impossibility of applying thereto the rules of prosody. Abbé Le Hir takes his stand on the affirmative; waiving the consideration of the prophetic books, which in one place he excludes from the category of strictly poetical works, he selects as his groundwork the alphabetical psalms and the Lamentations, where the initial of each verse or distich excludes the possibility of mistaking the first and last words, and arrives at a conclusion which, to say the least, is plausible, and commends itself by the facilities it affords for clearing up the obscurities in which the blunders of copyists have involved so many passages of the sacred text. In his view, the measure of the Hebrew verse is to be looked for, as in French, in the number, not in the quantity of the syllables, as is the case in Classical Poetry. Not that the Semitic dialects are unamenable to the rules of Greek and Latin versification, for while the Syriac hymns are measured by number, Arabian poetry conforms to the rules of Classical metre, which may be a result of the high culture attained by that race at a certain period of its history, and hence, should not be looked for in the chants of a primitive and pastoral

race. To determine the number of syllables in each verse or distich, our author, while keeping steadily in view the fundamental rules of the Masoretic system—on which, by the way, he sets a high value—avails himself of the precedents afforded by Syriac poetry and by the varieties of the pronunciation of the same word in the several cognate dialects, mostly the result of what might be called provincial differences, and establishes a three-fold rule for the contraction or elongation of words. Though simple, his system is ingenious, and is copiously illustrated by being applied to numerous passages selected here and there from the several songs or canticles of the Divine Scriptures.

Without going further than our author, whose tone is nowhere categorical, we may commend this portion of his work to the Bible student and critic. We now pass to the Prolegomena to the Book of Job. Having vindicated its canonicity from the attacks of Theodore of Mopsuestia, condemned on that count with many others, by the Fifth Œcumenical Council, and of the Anabaptists, he sketches the plan of the book, which he divides into the prologue, or introduction (chs. i. ii.); the body of the work, containing a series of Job's discourses, of those of his friends, and the Divine award on their controversy (chs. iii.—xli.), with a brief epilogue describing the prosperity which crowned his patience (ch. xlii.). In vindicating the historical character of the Book of Job, the author has to encounter the whole host of modern German critics; we need but observe that he has greatly simplified his task by taking no notice of assertions unbacked by at least plausible reasons. The questions as to the author and epoch of this book are next learnedly handled; while doing justice to the arguments alleged in favour of the several hypotheses formed on this matter, the Abbé leans to the view that the book was written by an author contemporaneous with Moses himself.

The translation of the Book of Job is next given in excellent French, yet without any sacrifice of literal closeness to the text. The footnotes, which ever accompany it, are a very storehouse of erudition and Oriental scholarship, giving even to the tyro in Hebrew a relish of the sublime beauties of the original. The dogmatic conclusion to which the whole work tends, is that in this world good and evil fortune are not the inevitable lot of vice or of virtue, but are distributed according to the designs of Providence, unsearchable to human ken in the mere order of outward nature, and still more so in the moral government of mankind, in the shaping of the events which go to make up the history of the individual or the race. Complete justice dwells but in the new heaven and new earth we look for according to the promise.

We have hardly left room for even a passing notice of the translation of the Song of Debora and Barac, of which a critical analysis is given by the editor in the Introduction. As regards

the translation of Psalm cix. 3, "From the womb, of old, Thee, O Son, hath He begotten," which is given as the Syriac version of this most difficult hemistich, we may observe that the Syriac text gives *iledth-och*—"I have begotten Thee," *i.e.*, the first, not the third person, in accordance with the Vulgate.

12. *Vitis Mystica*, or the True Vine. A Treatise on the Passion of our Lord (ascribed to St. Bernard). Translated, with Preface, by the Rev. W. R. Brownlow M.A., Priest of the Diocese of Plymouth. London: R. Washbourne.

This treatise is ascribed to St. Bernard in the Roman Breviary, at the head of the lessons for the office of the Sacred Heart and of that of the Five Wounds. Mabillon's opinion, apart from the intrinsic evidence of its having proceeded from another pen the work itself affords, is a sufficient reason for attributing it to another, though possibly contemporaneous, author. "It is not the work of St. Bernard," says he, "but that of some other pious author deficient neither in learning nor taste," an appreciation in which the reader will not fail to coincide. As the translator observes, this is in no wise a treatise of mystical theology, useful only to contemplatives; it is a manual of practical piety, applying the lessons taught by Christ crucified to the trials and duties of everyday life, whether in the world or the cloister. Having read the book through, we can vouch for the translator's statement that few will take this book up without wishing to read it again, and we most earnestly recommend it for its unction and deep sense of the beauties of nature, which, to the clean of heart, reflect the invisible splendours of the Wisdom that, in the midst of ages, came to restore and redeem what had been marred and enslaved by sin.

13. *Ignace Spencer et la Renaissance du Catholicisme en Angleterre (1828—1872)*. Par M. l'Abbé de Madaune. Paris, 1873.

This is an interesting book, as showing the view taken of the religious movement in England by one who views it from a somewhat more distant standpoint than ours. It were, however, desirable that the author or his publisher had been more careful of accuracy in the spelling of the names of English persons, places, and institutions. But we suppose the Millennium will come ere French writers attain correctness on this point. The subject with which the book deals has exercised the ablest pens amongst us, and one of Father Ignatius' brethren has paid his sainted memory the tribute of filial piety by unfolding the story of a life so full of toil and sacrifice.

14. *Julian's Arguments against the Christians.* Reprinted and edited by William Nevins. London: Williams and Norgate, 1873.

The immutability of the Church, its identity in history, is a favourite theme with polemicists and politicians of a certain class. We too assert it, and boast of it, and are at one so far with the sophist and the persecutor, who cannot open their mouths against us without unwittingly affording a confirmation of our boast. We have been led to these remarks by the impression made upon us in examining the book under review. We are free to confess that we knew more of Julian's doings than of his written remains, yet all along we could not shake off the feeling that we had met with his strictures upon the divine economy before, and his diatribes had a familiar ring in our ears. Setting aside his theurgic infatuation, the would-be restorer of the all but defunct Græco-Roman Paganism travels in the self-same groove as so many of our leaders of modern thought, prophets of the religion of the future, who do the thinking and much of the writing for our instructors in the periodical press. Strange to say, yet most true, the apostate Emperor has been beforehand with the oppressors of Catholic conscience, the robbers of the Church, and of the disinherited classes, the strenuous opponents of the liberty of Christian races to educate their children as they deem best. Write and talk as they may, they are but the servile copyists of the crowned sophist who sought to re-open the era of persecution—he has robbed them of the merit, even of originality. Yet must we be just, Julian was no atheist. He acknowledged, and sought after a fashion, to enter into communion with the unseen powers; he never preconized in the name of science a brutal materialism. We will append a few quotations by way of specimen—

As to the serpent discoursing with Eve, what language did it speak? What difference between tales like this and the fables of the Greeks?

But does Isaias say that God will be born of a virgin? You, however, cease not to call Mary the *God-producer* (*θεοτοκος*). . . . How could she produce a God, being human as we are?

Neither Paul nor Matthew nor Luke nor Mark dared to say—"Jesus is God;" but *good* John, . . . hearing, as it appears to me, that the tombs of Peter and Paul were—privately indeed—yet that they were worshipped, was the first that dared to assert it.

If, as Jesus says (St. Matt. xxiii. 27), sepulchres are full of uncleanness, how is that you invoke God upon them?

But you, unfortunate men, neglecting to adore the heaven-descended shield sent by the great Jupiter, . . . you adore the wood of a cross, marking your forehead with the image of it and engraving it on the vestibules on your dwellings.



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THE MONTH.

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